

DADABHAI NAOROJI

The Grand Old Man of India

BY
R. P. MASANI

Abbreviated Edition

With a Foreword by
MAHATMA GANDHI



MYSORE
KAVYALAYA PUBLISHERS

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi	iii
Preface	v
✓ I Early Days	1
II 'The Promise of India'	7
III 'Dadabhai Professor'	10
IV Standard-bearer of Reform	13
V Early Politics	19
VI A Preaching Friar	23
VII From College to Counting-house	26
VIII Domestic Troubles	30
✓ IX Educating the British Public	34
X A Fruitful Mission	39
✓ XI The Drain	44
XII To the Help of a Maharaja	48
XIII A Crown of Thorns	54
XIV Minister Resigns—Maharaja Deposed	63
XV In the Civic Chamber	71
✓ XVI The Condition of India	74
XVII Inauguration of a New Era	81
XVIII In Search of a Constituency	86
XIX Holborn and After	89
XX Member for Finsbury	94
XXI His Daily Thought—India	100
XXII A Year of Worry and Glory	107
XXIII The Hero's Home-coming	114
✓ XXIV Historic Debates	118

CHAPTER		PAGE
x ✓ XXV	Unseated	123
x ✓ XXVI	Indian Expenditure Commission .	125
XXVII	British Rule Lacking British Principles .	129
x ✓ XXVIII	Stirring the British Public	132
XXIX	Self-government – the Only Remedy .	137
XXX	A Restless Pen	144
XXXI	Indians in South Africa	149
XXXII	North Lambeth	157
XXXIII	Calcutta Congress	160
XXXIV	Return Home	166
XXXV	Radiant in Retirement	170
XXXVI	The End	177

DADABHAI NAOROJI

The Grand Old Man of India

BY
R. P. MASANI

Abbreviated Edition

With a Foreword by
MAHATMA GANDHI



MYSORE
KAVYALAYA PUBLISHERS

B. Aet
Rs 3-50

This is an Indian Abbreviated edition of
DADABHAI NAOROJI by R. P. Masani and
is published by kind permission of
George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London

National Library, Calcutta

Delivery of Book Act, 1955

First Published 1957

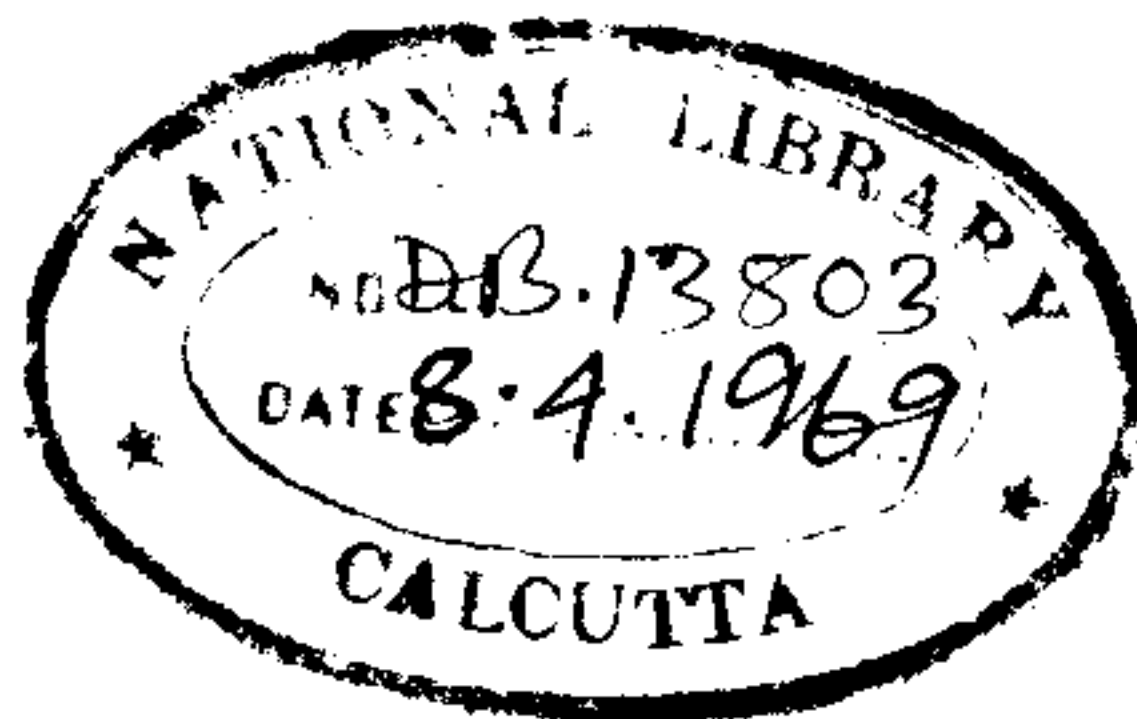
Second Edition 1967

Third Edition 1968

3 FEB 1969

E
92
D12 mwp CV

All Rights Reserved



PRINTED IN INDIA BY G. H. RAMA RAO AT
MYSORE PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE
MYSORE

FOREWORD

It was on September 4, 1888, that I sailed from Bombay for London with three letters of introduction, the most precious being for the G.O.M. of India, Dadabhai Naoroji. The writer was a Maharashtrian doctor, a friend of the family. The worthy doctor told me the G.O.M. did not know him personally, in fact he had never even had the *darshan* of the G.O.M. 'But', said the doctor, 'what does it matter? Everyone knows him and adores him as India's great son and champion. He has exiled himself for us. I claim to know him by his service of India. You will see that my letter will serve you just as well as if I had known him personally. The fact is, you need no introduction to him. Your being an Indian is sufficient introduction. But you are a youngster, untravelled and timid. This letter will give you courage enough to go to the G.O.M. and all will be smooth sailing for you'. And so it was. When I reached London, I soon found that Indian students had free access to the G.O.M. at all hours of the day. Indeed, he was in the place of father to every one of them, no matter to which province or religion they belonged. He was there to advise and guide them in their difficulties. I have always been a hero-worshipper. And so Dadabhai became real Dada to me. The relationship took the deepest root in South Africa, for he was my constant adviser and inspiration. Hardly a week passed without a letter from me to him describing the condition of Indians in South Africa. And I well remember that whenever there was a reply to be expected, it came without fail in his own handwriting, in his inimitably simple style. I never received a typed letter from him. And during my visits to England from South Africa I found that he had for office a garret perhaps eight feet by six feet. There was hardly room in it for another chair. His desk, his chair, and the file of papers filled the room. I saw that he wrote his letters in copying ink and press-copied them himself.

The story of a life so noble and yet so simple needs no introduction from me or anybody else. May it be inspiration to the reader even as Dadabhai living was to me !

October 19, 1938

M. K. GANDHI

PREFACE

It is given to but few to live so full and complete a life as that of Dadabhai Naoroji. In India longevity is rarely associated with strenuous intellectual labour and political activity. Dadabhai¹ was a remarkable exception to the general rule.

When this herald of self-government for India was born in Bombay in 1825, the independence of certain South American States had just been recognized, and the New World had been called into existence 'to redress the balance of the Old'. In England it was the reign of King George IV; in India, the East India Company, though still a trading corporation, held sway. When the new-born babe was cutting his teeth, the Governor of Bombay, Mountstuart Elphinstone, was speculating on the consequences of his educational policy and the time when the fitness of the people to govern themselves should lead to voluntary or enforced transfer of power into their hands. When Dadabhai was a lad of nine, learning the English alphabet, Macaulay was writing his historic minutes in favour of English education, minutes which were to determine the subsequent course of Indian education and progress.

When, after the 'Mutiny', India was placed under the direct government of the Crown, Dadabhai was a young partner in the first Indian commercial firm established in England, a philosopher trader who startled his partners by his idealism in business, a patriot who was concerned more with the prestige and welfare of his country than with profits. When Gladstone opened his Irish campaign in the House of Commons, Dadabhai started his Indian campaign in England, educating the British on their responsibilities in India and demonstrating to them by relentless statistics

¹ Following Indian usage the hero of this story will be called by his first name, Dadabhai. Naoroji, the name by which he was called in England, was his father's name.

and remorseless logic how India was being bled under the prevailing system of administration. When Lord Ripon inaugurated the era of local self-government in India, Dadabhai had already made a name for himself as an authority on Indian economics and politics, engaged in a strenuous struggle to secure for the sons of India an increasing share in the administration of their own country. When Lord Curzon attempted to put back the clock and when New India was in open revolt against the autocratic Viceroy, the hero of our story was past four score years, still carrying on a countrywide platform campaign in the United Kingdom, demanding redress of India's wrongs and proclaiming self-government as the only remedy.

During the closing years of Queen Victoria's reign Dadabhai entered the House of Commons as a Gladstonian and an ardent advocate of Home Rule. In the House and on the public platform he demanded that British rule in India should be dominated by British principles. In the year 1911 he had the happiness to welcome Queen Victoria's grandson—King George V—to the shores of India. Three years later, when the Great War broke out, he made a stirring appeal to the people to stand by the side of the British Empire. At the same time he impressed upon British statesmen the wisdom of granting to India the same rights of self-government within the Empire as had been conceded to the Dominions. He learnt from friends in England that epoch-making reforms, heralding the dawn of self-government, were well on the way. He was not, however, destined to see the fruition of his life-long dream; the end came sooner than expected, seven weeks before the historic declaration of August 20, 1917.

The story of a life which thus spanned several memorable epochs in the history of India and left its impress on the progress of the people is, surely, worth telling. I could have wished that the work had been undertaken by one who had breathed the same political air as he breathed and been associated with him, for at least some years, in his manifold activities. In 1911 I offered to sit at the feet of Dadabhai and to take notes for the future biographer. A friend to whom I unburdened my mind said: 'Gokhale intends to

write the biography and he has arranged to send his assistant to Dadabhai for notes and reminiscences'. 'Nothing better', I replied. Gokhale, however, predeceased Dadabhai by two years without having begun the work.

In these pages I have tried to give as faithful an account as possible of a simple but heroic life devoutly dedicated to the service of humanity. It is based mainly on Dadabhai's private papers. Unfortunately, a large collection of documents relating to his early activities was found to be worm-eaten and was destroyed when his house was acquired, during his absence in England, by the Bombay Improvement Trust. The story of that period had therefore, to be founded on such data as I could get from personal inquiries and various publications. The material for the remainder of his life, from 1876 onwards, was there, but it had suffered from the ravages of time and transport. The task of examining, single-handed, during my leisure hours, all such faded and crumbling papers seemed beyond me. It was, however, possible for me to pay undivided attention to the work during the last twelve months.

It seems to me that the delay in writing this biography is not an unmixed evil. I often heard people speak derisively, during recent years, of constitutional methods of agitation, the key-note of the policy of Congressmen of the past generation. I also noticed that faith in British justice—the rock on which that policy was based—had been fading. The times were out of joint. The Congress, during the last two decades, was driven to pursue the policy of non-co-operation and civil disobedience. Who, in such times, would have heeded Dadabhai's advice to hold fast to constitutional methods or shared his faith and his hopes in British character and British justice?

During the days of the civil disobedience campaign people asked: 'What would Dadabhai do, were he alive today?' The remnants of the Old Congress gave one answer; New India gave another. When I met Mahatma Gandhi on board the *S. S. Pilsna* in December 1931, during his voyage to Bombay, after the Round Table Conference, I referred the matter to him specifically.

‘Don’t you think’, I asked, ‘Dadabhai’s policy, which the present generation ridicules as a mendicant policy, was the right one, considering the circumstances then prevailing?’

‘Yes’, he replied.

Then, promptly anticipating my second question, he added: ‘And I believe that if he were alive today he would follow the same policy that I have been pursuing for the last few years’.

How far this belief was justified, how far Dadabhai’s own latter-day utterances, which have been unreservedly cited in this book, lend support to it, may be left for the reader to judge.

Happily, there is now a truce between Government and the Congress. After years of boycott of Councils, Congress ministries are now in office in most provinces. Heretofore the history of India has been the history of an alien bureaucracy out of tune with the political pulsations of the people. Now commences the era of national government. Several fundamental issues, however, still remain to be settled. Moreover, many fear that the ship of co-operation may founder on the rock of ‘Complete Independence’. After all, it is a question of definition and adjustment, and Mahatma Gandhi may be trusted, if called upon, to cut the Gordian knot. Such being the vista of possibilities opened out by the current policy of co-operation and constitutional progress, the present appears to be an opportune moment to make Dadabhai live again and to recall and revivify his stirring words of reproof as well as of hope. The story of his untiring effort for peaceful and orderly progress, hampered at every stage by the bureaucracy, has for the British Government and nation, as well as for the people of India, a lesson writ in tears and sorrows and suffering.

Several small sketches of Dadabhai’s career were written during his lifetime. To these, and also to Messrs Natesan & Co.’s compilation of his speeches and writings, my acknowledgments are due. I am also indebted to Mr C. F. Andrews, Deewan Bahadur, K. M. Jhaveri, and Mr S. T. Sheppard, who have evinced keen interest in the progress

of this biography and favoured me with valued suggestions. I had to approach numerous persons in India, England, and America for information or advice. To all of them, particularly to Sir Frank Brown, Honorary Secretary, East India Association, I am grateful for willing assistance. Finally, I tender my thanks to Mahatma Gandhi for his Foreword. He is, so to say, the apostolic heir and successor to the place occupied by Dadabhai in the heart of the people of India. The Grand Old Man of India could not have wished for a more lion-hearted or a more noble-minded successor. No one has contributed more than this idol of the people towards the fulfilment of Dadabhai's dream of Home Rule, and there is none in India today so well qualified as he is to form an accurate estimate of the life and character of the great patriot.

December 5, 1938

R. P. M.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

OUR grateful thanks are due to Sir R. P. Masani who has, besides preparing the text of this abbreviated edition, been helpful to us in many ways.

SECOND EDITION

WE are grateful to the Chairman and members of the Board of Studies in English, University of Mysore, who have made this second edition of the book possible by prescribing it as a text for study for the B. Com. Degree Examination, 1969.

Our thanks are due to the Proprietor, Mysore Printing and Publishing House, Mysore, for printing the book neatly and within a very short time.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi	iii
Preface	v
✓ I Early Days	1
II 'The Promise of India'	7
III 'Dadabhai Professor'	10
IV Standard-bearer of Reform	13
V Early Politics	19
VI A Preaching Friar	23
VII From College to Counting-house	26
VIII Domestic Troubles	30
✓ IX Educating the British Public	34
X A Fruitful Mission	39
✓ XI The Drain	44
XII To the Help of a Maharaja	48
XIII A Crown of Thorns	54
XIV Minister Resigns—Maharaja Deposed	63
XV In the Civic Chamber	71
✓ XVI The Condition of India	74
XVII Inauguration of a New Era	81
XVIII In Search of a Constituency	86
XIX Holborn and After	89
XX Member for Finsbury	94
XXI His Daily Thought—India	100
XXII A Year of Worry and Glory	107
XXIII The Hero's Home-coming	114
✓ XXIV Historic Debates	118

CHAPTER		PAGE
x ✓ XXV	Unseated	123
x ✓ XXVI	Indian Expenditure Commission .	125
XXVII	British Rule Lacking British Principles .	129
x ✓ XXVIII	Stirring the British Public	132
XXIX	Self-government – the Only Remedy .	137
XXX	A Restless Pen	144
XXXI	Indians in South Africa	149
XXXII	North Lambeth	157
XXXIII	Calcutta Congress	160
XXXIV	Return Home	166
XXXV	Radiant in Retirement	170
XXXVI	The End	177

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

NOT many years ago, there lay seven desolate islets where the city of Bombay has now sprung up, forming the main gateway between the East and the West. Here, scattered along the coast-line, were several fishing villages of the early settlers. One of these, known as Mandvi, has since been transformed into a busy emporium. In this neighbourhood lived in a lowly house, a poor Parsi priest, Naoroji Palanji Dordi, with his wife, Manekbai. Great was the joy of this couple when, on September 4, 1825, a son was born to them, their first and only child. They named him Dadabhai. Was it because the fairy god-mother, who visits the homes of Indian children on the *Chhathi*, or the sixth night after their birth, whispered to the fond mother that her son was destined to become the Grand Old Man—the *Dada*—of Hindustan ?

Be that as it may, Dadabhai carried his lofty destiny in his name. To love and serve Mother India, as none of her sons had done before him, to get grey in that service and still to knock at England's door for the redress of India's wrongs, to teach his countrymen to be free, and then in the twilight of old age to see them placed on the path of self-government—this was the mission of his life; and he gloried in it as much as he rejoiced in the title 'Dada' with which his countrymen loved to honour him.

Dadabhai's ancestors came from Navsari, a small town in the territory of the Gaekwar of Baroda. The record of the Dordi family, shows a long unbroken chain of priests tracing their descent from Zarhost Mobed, the oldest known ancestor who was the first Parsi priest to arrive in Navsari.

Gujarat is the 'Garden of India' and Navsari is the 'Garden of Gujarat' famous for its fragrant flowers and perfumes, 'the like of which', says Abul Fazl, the historian, 'is nowhere to be found'. Tradition relates that one of the ancestors of Dadabhai, Chandji Kamdin, made the best perfumes of the day. His fame travelled from Navsari to Delhi and

reached the ears of Nur Jahan Begum. She desired to know the recipe and induced her husband, the Emperor Jahangir, to send for Chandji with perfumes. On receipt of the royal invitation Chandji left for Delhi with jars of four select varieties of *attar*, which he laid at the feet of the Emperor. In return, he was entertained in Delhi as a royal guest and was granted a hundred *bighas* of land with the title of *Mulla Jamasp*.

‘How far this account is correct,’ wrote Dadabhai in reply to certain questions put to him by a journalist, in the year 1881, ‘I am unable to say till I see all the documents connected with the matter’.

This laconic reply was typical of the man. Never to accept a statement without verification, never to make a statement without being convinced of the truth of it, was the rule of his life; and if he did say anything which was not borne out by facts, even his bitterest critic refrained from questioning his credentials.

Dadabhai was the ninth in descent from Mulla Jamasp. His parents lived in comparative poverty, but his ancestors appear to have seen better days. The names of some of the Dordis figure with those of the elders of the Parsi community in communal records, which show that Dadabhai’s impulse for patriotic service had its roots in his ancestry.

A curious origin has been suggested of the family name Dordi. One day some Parsi priests of Navsari went to a dinner. An ancestor of Dadabhai’s family, turned up rather late and went about the place in search of a seat. One of the company thereupon ejaculated, ‘Why are you twisting and turning like a *dordi* (rope made of coir)?’ Thereafter the name stuck to the man and his descendants.

‘Maharaj’, said Dadabhai once to Mulharao Gaekwar when pressed to do what he, as his Prime Minister, thought would cause more harm than good, ‘my name is “Dordi”. You know, Your Highness, that you may burn a *dordi*, but can never take the twist out of it. So is it with me. When once I form a decision, nothing will dislodge me from it’.

A striking illustration of such courage of conviction and determination was his stupendous struggle to enter the

¹ Tamil *kayiru* : from *Kayaru*, to be twisted.

House of Commons. It was the most romantic dream of his life; the chances for its fruition seemed extremely slender, but Dadabhai carried on his election campaign for seven years, undeterred by the coldness or antagonism of friend or foe and undismayed by repeated reverses. After his failure to win the suffrages of the electors of the Holborn division of Finsbury, in the year 1886, he nursed the Central Finsbury constituency for five years in spite of the opposition of the executive of his own Liberal Party. When he appeared to be leading a forlorn hope, W. A. Chambers, one of the British friends keenly interested in Dadabhai's success, called on him. A member of a leading firm of civil engineers and architects in Bombay, he was well known for his active sympathy with India in her struggle for freedom. He was also a voter in Central Finsbury. In the course of their conversation concerning the attitude of the officials of the Liberal Party, Dadabhai warmed up and said: 'They think they can keep down the mild Hindu, but I will teach them a lesson. I will stick to this constituency'. He did, indeed, stick to it and conquered.

There are no nursery annals to entertain us with the details of Dadabhai's childhood. Whether he was an infant prodigy maturing into brilliant boyhood, we have no evidence to show. All that we know is that little Dady had the misfortune to lose his father when he was only four years old. 'One of the first fancies which took possession of my mind as a little child', he tells us, 'was that, as my father was dead, the moon, like other friends, was in sympathy with me. And whether I went to the front or back of the house, the moon always seemed to go with me. I liked sympathy then, and like it now'.

His gifted mother, however, supplied to a large extent the want of a father's care and protection. The shadow of adversity hung over the little household; nevertheless she sent him to school and toiled for his maintenance. In a brief account of his early life, which he contributed to 'The Days of My Youth' column of T. P. O'Connor's journal *M.A.P.*, in the year 1904, he observed:

There is one who, if she comes last in this narrative, has ever been first of all, my mother. Widowed when I,

her only child, was an infant, she voluntarily remained a widow, wrapped up in me, her everything in the world. She worked for her child, helped by a brother. Although illiterate, and although all love for me, she was a wise mother. She kept a firm hand upon me. She was the wise counsellor of the neighbourhood. She helped me with all her heart in my work for female education and other social reforms against prejudices of the day. *She made me what I am.*

In the early twenties of the last century, says Dadabhai in the same account, there was formed at Bombay a society called the 'Native Education Society', which established a school in two branches, English and vernacular. The *Mehtaji* (master) of my indigenous school did not know very much about the experiment of the Native Education Society. But it was enough for him that it was conducted under Government auspices. So he sent his son to the school and persuaded my mother to send me also, and this was the foundation of my whole life's career. Education was then entirely free. . . This incident made me an ardent advocate of free education and of the principle that every child should have the opportunity of receiving all the education it is capable of assimilating, whether it is born poor or with a silver spoon in its mouth.

Being quick at multiplication tables and at mental arithmetic, and being also little of size and fair of colour, I was a regular 'exhibition boy' at my indigenous or native school. On special occasions all the boys of the school used to be lined up in the open by the side of the road, and there, surrounded by crowds of people, I, along with other little boys, was smartly exercised in mental gymnastics amid the loud *wawas* (cries of bravo) of the admiring audience.

Owing to the fairness of my complexion, and, I think I may say, the prettiness of my little limbs, I was also always an object of show at weddings, processions, etc., generally appearing as an English general or admiral or in some gorgeous Indian Royal or Court dress brocade. Fond parents and friends of the child thus exhibited used to say of him : 'Oh, he, is my dear *Jonglo* (Englishman) !'

Little did I dream then that I should spend much of my manhood and older life in the country of the *Jonglos* and don their dress in reality. I was particularly reminded of these days of processions and my childish joy in the different dresses I wore, especially the English Court dress, when, in Court dress, I formed one of the deputation from the committee of the Imperial Institute, who received the late Queen Victoria on the occasion of the opening of that building. I well remember how the thought passed through my mind: 'Here I am, a real courtier now!'

When I entered the school, there were two 'European masters—one for the literary, the other for the arithmetic, department. Practically we were allowed to do as we liked, but I was not disposed to be idle. I must be active in some way or the other. I had a retentive memory and was full of stories. So most of my school hours were passed in 'spinning yarns to an admiring circle of school-fellows. So lax was discipline that often we would coolly march out of school and spend the whole day in games. My story-telling powers and skill at games made me a leader among the boys, and I acquired the self-confidence and reliance which comes with such a position.

Another incident of my childhood I give upon my mother's authority and not from personal recollection. According to my mother, whenever any boy used bad language to me, I used to reply, 'Your bad words will remain in your mouth'.

The awakening of the soul came to me when I was about fifteen. I remember, as if it were only yesterday, how at a certain spot on a certain road I made a vow never to use low language. From that time forward, as my education advanced, other resolutions to do this and not to do that followed, and I think I may say that I faithfully adhered to them.

The following startling story gives an idea of the unwholesomeness of the general surroundings.

As a boy I was accustomed to have my little drink before dinner. One day, there was no liquor in the house, and I was sent to have my drink at a shop opposite. Never did

I forget the shame and humiliation I felt at being there. It was enough. The drink shop never saw my face again.

In another reminiscence he tells us how at a school exhibition he deprived a jackdaw of his borrowed feathers.

I remember at one of the school examinations a fellow-pupil, having learned the 'ready-reckoner' by heart, carried off the prize I had expected. But at the distribution of prizes, when questions outside the book were asked, he faltered and broke down. I seized the opportunity, rushed out of the ranks, and answered. There and then an English gentleman among the company gave me a prize, and Mrs. Postans, the lady traveller, who was also present, has made a special note of the incident in her book *Western India*.

In this book Mrs Postans described Dadabhai as a little Parsi lad 'with an overhanging forehead and small sparkling eyes', which 'peculiarly attracted attention.' The moment a question was proposed to the class, she writes, 'he quickly took a step before the rest, contracted his brows in deep and anxious thought and with parted lips and fingers eagerly up-lifted towards the master, rapidly worked his problem and blurted out the solution with a startling haste. The little fellow seemed wholly animated with a desire of excelling, and his mental capabilities promised him a rich reward.'

One wonders whether 'the little fellow' would have risen or fallen in the estimation of this lady if she had been told that on his tiny shoulders he was carrying the burden of a married man! Infant marriages were then a rule among Parsis. The earlier the age at which a mother succeeded in securing a husband for her girl, the greater was her exultation. Marriages were even arranged, in rare cases, in anticipation of the birth of a bride or bridegroom, and Dadabhai would have been a good-for-nothing fellow had his mother failed to secure a wife for him before he was in his teens. Hence we find him married during his eleventh year to Gulbai, daughter of Sorabji Shroff, aged seven.

CHAPTER II

'THE PROMISE OF INDIA'

It was a critical hour for the advanced students of Dadabhai's school when Assistant Professor Bal Gangadhar Shastree visited it to select half a dozen boys for a new college class. Young Dady felt his fate trembling in the balance. Although he was the brightest boy of the class, he was put very near the bottom. The teacher of the class had a partiality for the sons of rich people, a common failing of school-masters of that type. Poor as he was, Dady could not stand it. It was not in his nature to conceal resentment; he often rebelled against such injustice, but it made matters worse for him. Bal Gangadhar, however, picked him out with unerring judgment and pronounced him fit for the higher form. Thereafter he toiled on, winning academic laurels which culminated in his appointment as professor of Mathematics.

While Dadabhai was yet an infant, a great educational movement was set on foot in Bombay. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was then Governor of Bombay, was an ardent advocate of education. Although the prevailing official view was against Western education, this distinguished administrator sympathized with the aspirations of a few Indians for promoting higher education among the people. The Native Education Society was established under his patronage and received his constant support. When he retired in 1827, the Princes and the people of India raised a large sum for perpetuating his memory by the foundation of 'professorships for teaching the youths of the country the languages, literature, science, and moral philosophy of Europe'.

The college classes were subsequently amalgamated with the school classes conducted by the Native Education Society, and the combined school and college, was named the Elphinstone Institution. Here Dadabhai learnt to commune with the best minds in the realm of literature. Here all that was noble in him was illumined by the study of the

life and labours of the heroes of the world. Here dawned on him while he was yet in his teens, the consciousness of the debt he owed to society. Among the books he read we find the great Persian epic, Firdawsi's *Shahnama*. Another favourite book was a Gujarati treatise, *The Duties of Zoroastrians*, the burden of which was pure thought, pure speech, pure deed.

But (says he) the literature I had most to do with and most enjoyed was, of course, English. Watt's *Improvement of the Mind* settled my style and mode of thought—never two words when one was enough, clearness of thought and diction. So I bade farewell to the fine and flowery.

This made him an orator and an author always comprehensible to the simplest minds.

As education advanced (he adds) I realized that I had been educated at the expense of the poor, to whom I myself belonged, so much so that some of my school books came from a well-to-do classmate, a Cama, one of the family with whom I was destined subsequently to have so much to do in public and private life. The thought developed itself in my mind that, as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me. I must devote myself to the service of the people.

In the year 1840 Dadabhai received the Clare Scholarship; two years later he was admitted to the newly opened class of Normal Scholars.

During those happy days Dadabhai was the shining light of the Elphinstone Institution, the pride of his professors and fellow-students. In appearance he was handsome, with singularly bright eyes; in his movements agile and alert; in character and demeanour, upright and estimable. Academic honours crowned his career, giving unmistakable indication of remarkable vigour of intellect and clearness of thought and judgment. His teachers were not slow to discern in him the lineaments of the man—the perfect gentleman and the high-souled patriot that he was to be. Professor Orlebar called him 'The Promise of India'. No prophecy

made by a professor was more thoroughly justified by subsequent events. 'The promise of India' was to be the first in many fields—the first Indian professor, the first to found several organizations for the social, intellectual, and political uplift of the people of India, the first Indian M.P., the first Indian to sit on a Royal Commission, appointed in response to his own demands to secure financial justice for his country, and, above all, the first and foremost Indian to claim self-government for his countrymen.

When Mountstuart Elphinstone was seeing the vision of a self-governing India as the inevitable and glorious result of the policy he had been advocating of educating Indians and associating them in the administration of their country, little could he have dreamt that a boy had already been born to hasten the day for the transfer of power to the people, the day which he was placing 'at an immeasurable distance'.

In his student days Dadabhai saw his motherland sleeping, unconscious of her wrongs, unmindful of her rights; it was his destiny to stir her slowly but steadily, day after day, to a sense of her true status among the civilised countries of the world and, in the evening of his life, to see her running on the tracks laid by him.

CHAPTER III

‘DADABHAI PROFESSOR’

DADABHAI'S work as a brilliant student came constantly to the notice of Sir Erskine Perry, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bombay, who happened to be the President of the Board of Education. He suggested that Dadabhai should be sent to England to qualify himself as a barrister. It needed, however, quite a fortune whereas Dadabhai and his mother did not seem to possess between them a hundred rupee note. His good uncle, Rustamji Desai, maintained them, but neither he nor any other relative could find the money required for the purpose. Hearing this, the large-hearted judge offered to contribute half the expenses himself.

The proposal of the Chief Justice was at first welcomed by some of the leaders of the community, but it fell through because the orthodox among them scented disaster in that generous offer. Conversion of the heathen appears to take a secondary place among the beneficent activities of the saintly souls who now preach the World of God in the East. Their predecessors, however, were keen on proselytism as the primary object of their mission. To break through the citadel of Hinduism was not a very difficult task for them, but the staunch followers of Zoroaster, who had abandoned their homes and sought refuge in India, for the preservation of their faith, could not think of any calamity more appalling than the renunciation of the ancient creed by even a single soul. They, therefore, took special care to guard Parsi youths from the snares of the missionary. Nevertheless, in the year 1839, the latter succeeded in inducing two lads to embrace Christianity. Nothing ever convulsed the Parsis more, or caused them greater chagrin and humiliation, than these two solitary cases of conversion. The whole community was up in arms. The missionaries were anathematized as ‘devils in human shape’; and brochures denouncing Christianity were

written as tracts for the times. In course of time, however, the Parsis were reconciled to the work of the missionaries, and they marked their appreciation of it by liberal donations to the missions. They even looked upon the two converts with respect when they had taken Holy Orders and had become Christian priests.

For the time being it seemed as if Dadabhai had lost a golden opportunity. The humble chair of ‘Head Native Assistant Master’ of the Elphinstone School was all that could be offered to him on the completion of his academic career. By that time he had come perilously near the portals of the Government Secretariat. The Secretary to the Board of Education had secured for him an appointment in the Bombay Secretariat. Dadabhai was on the point of accepting it, but, fortunately, sage advice of some of the professors saved him from a post where he would have been bound down to the narrow outlook of a subordinate official.

The Assistant Master’s place was a stepping-stone to the Assistant Professorship of Mathematics. ‘Go on in the same, steady, straightforward course, and with the same singleminded views’, wrote Dr. Stovell, Secretary to the Board of Education, ‘and you may prove in time a great blessing to your countrymen’.

Two years later, Dadabhai was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. It was the first professorship¹ ever held by an Indian in any prominent college in the country. The appointment, therefore, attracted more attention in those days than that of a Minister does at the present time. The enthusiasm with which the public hailed the appointment was shared by Government. They congratulated the Board of Education on having seen in the honourable distinction conferred on Dadabhai a fulfilment of the hope expressed by the founders of the Professorships. Dadabhai considered it the greatest event in his career. Down to the end of his life he felt proud of that distinction. ‘Several honours came to me during my life-time’, said he on one occasion, ‘but no other title created in me that sense

¹ Before him Bal Gangadhar Shastree had officiated for a short

12 DADABHAI NAOROJI : THE GRAND OLD MAN OF INDIA

of pride which I felt in being known as a Professor'. On another occasion, when, as a member of the House of Commons, he was at the zenith of his fame, he wrote, 'To me it is the dearest title and honour. It is my delight, and many a school-fellow and pupil call me "Dadabhai Professor" to this day'.

To what extent the Professor's love for mathematics moulded his life and character and influenced his code of ethics it is difficult to say. It will, however, be seen, as the story of his life is unfolded, that mathematical precision was the keynote not only of his private conduct and judgment but also of his political conduct and of the public agitation he led. Nothing less than a demonstrative proof could make him accept a statement ; nothing short of what was just and fair could give him satisfaction. Similarly, all his complaints against the rulers resolved themselves into the indictment that they were not governing India on principles precisely British. All his demands on behalf of India were simply appeals for a precise and just interpretation of and adherence to declarations solemnly made by the Crown and British statesmen.

Many of Dadabhai's pupils spoke admiringly of his solicitude for his pupils. None who came under his spell could forget his winning simplicity, charm of manner, and unfailing courtesy. His most distinguished pupil, Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, who subsequently made a name for himself as the greatest Orientalist in India, often used to say that it was impossible to forget Dadabhai's 'masterly teaching and kindness to students'. Simple in manners and habits himself, he impressed upon his pupils the dignity of simplicity and weaned a good many of them, by his own example, from their weakness for ostentation.

CHAPTER IV

STANDARD-BEARER OF REFORM

It used to be said, until recently, that Hindu social reform was 'a Himalaya to cut'. Using the same metaphor, one may say that during Dadabhai's days Zoroastrian social reform was an Elburz to pierce. While the Himalaya remained unpierced during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Herculean task of cutting through the Elburz chain was courageously essayed by a handful of Elphinstonians of whom the most conspicuous was Dadabhai.

During those days a Native Literary Society existed in Bombay. It was, however, in a moribund condition during the year 1848. Some of its members, therefore, assembled in the hall of the Elphinstone Institution, under the presidency of Dadabhai, to inaugurate a new society, which they named 'Students' Literary and Scientific Society'. Professor Patton was appointed President, and Dadabhai Treasurer, of the Society. One of the rules of the new organization provided that two members should be nominated by the Secretary, according to their order in the list of members, as readers of papers on literary, scientific, or social subjects for each fortnightly meeting. Another rule laid down that any member who failed to read a paper should, in the first instance, be fined a rupee. The fine was to be doubled for the second offence; and expulsion was the penalty for the third offence. The intention evidently was to weed out useless and ornamental members. All political or religious subjects were strictly excluded.

Each question was first discussed at the Society's meetings; the opinions formed by the members were then placed before the public through two vernacular branches of the Society, the Gujarati *Dnyan Prasarak Mandali*, of which Dadabhai was Chairman, and the Marathi *Dnyan Prasarak Mandali*. The debates of the Gujarati Society were published in its journal, *Dnyan Prasarak*, which was edited by

Dadabhai for several years. To him it was a labour of love, but when he had not enough leisure for the work, he paid others to do it.

August 4, 1849, was the proudest day in the annals of the Society. It will also be remembered in the history of the Bombay Presidency as the day on which was laid the foundation of female education in the city of Bombay. For men there was little at home in those days to inspire or cheer. Domestic happiness, 'the nurse of virtue', was unknown to many. The only remedy lay in educating women. On many an occasion the young Elphinstonians had waxed eloquent on this subject, but nothing practical had been achieved. On that memorable day, however, a paper on female education, read by Behramji Kharshedji Gandhi, led to a discussion which took a practical turn.

The essay was brimful of enthusiasm. Behramji submitted that they had talked enough. Deeds were wanted, not words. This appeal, followed by a prayer to the Almighty in impressive Parsi style, met with a hearty response.

'Let every student here present use his influence with the members of his own family to get one pupil at least'.

'Yes' responded scores of voices.

'Let us teach the students ourselves, and show that we are in earnest'

'Yes, yes !' exclaimed all.

This was not a new suggestion for Dadabhai. When asked by his grandchildren to tell them some stories of his early days, Dadabhai often related to them how, when he was college student, he used to go round from house to house, with a friend (whose name none can now recall), persuading parents and guardians to allow them to sit on their verandahs and to teach the three R's to their girls, how some of them had taken advantage of his offer and how two or three irate fathers had threatened to throw them down the steps for making such a preposterous proposal.

A resolution was adopted by the meeting for opening experimental schools. There was no need to raise funds, several members volunteered to act as teachers and others

offered apartments in their houses for opening schools. It was decided to conduct the classes from seven to ten in the morning so that the professional work of the volunteers might not suffer.

The school-rooms were there; the teachers were there; the books and materials were there; but where were the pupils? To capture a pupil was for them almost as difficult a task as to conquer a city, for against them were arrayed the forces of stern orthodoxy with their misgiving as to the consequences of such a movement on the social life of the people. Selfless and single-minded devotion to the cause, however, worked wonders. Within a couple of months 44 pupils were secured for the Parsi schools, and 24 for the Hindu schools. In all, there were seven schools, three Hindu and four Parsi. Dadabhai was in charge of the Baharkote School. Being a trained teacher, he was a pillar of strength to his colleagues. They did everything in their power to make the experiment a success.

Some of the leaders were not slow to appreciate such work. Jugannath Shankarseth, who was for many years a member of the Board of Education, gave a beautiful little cottage to be used as a school-house. Four Parsis, by their timely donations rendered it possible for the Society to engage the services of paid teachers. They would not have their names disclosed, but it transpired later that they were all members of the Cama family. One of them was Kharshedji Nasarwanji Cama, who was particularly friendly to Dadabhai and was subsequently responsible for transporting him from the class-room to the counting-house. These donors placed at the Society's disposal a sum sufficient for the maintenance of the schools, whether Hindu or Parsi, for a period of two years. It was hoped that at the end of the period the public would not let the movement languish for want of funds.

When paid teachers were engaged, the volunteers formed themselves into a board of supervision. Dadabhai undertook to supervise the Fort Schools and threw himself into the work as enthusiastically as he did in later life into the momentous struggles for the emancipation of the coun-

the classes, and assisted the tutorial staff in ensuring the best results. The Government of Lord Falkland regarded the spontaneous organization of these schools 'as an epoch in the history of education in the Bombay Presidency, from which, it was hoped, would in due time be traced the commencement of a rapid, marked, and constant progress'.

Thanks to the efforts of the *Sisoti* boys, the lamp of knowledge illumined year after year an ever-widening area. True to its name, the *Dnyan Prasarak Mandali* also systematically spread the rays of knowledge far and wide. At the meetings of the Gujarati and the Marathi Societies lectures on useful subjects were delivered before large gatherings. The effect was visible in the gradual transformation of ideas and customs among the people.

After their flight from Iran, Parsis had lived in India with Hindus and Muhammadans for twelve centuries. As an inevitable consequence of such prolonged contact, certain alien beliefs, practices, and ceremonies had crept into the Zoroastrian creed. The *Sisoti* boys declined to accept such a medley as representing the pure gospel of Zarathushtra, but it was not so easy to convert the orthodox to their views. Their ancestors had cherished those beliefs and observed the customs for several generations; what was good for their elders was good for them; what right had those raw youths to consider themselves wiser than their forebears?

Once more, therefore, we find Dadabhai busy organizing a Society to carry out this object. With the co-operation of Naoroji Furdoonji, the 'Tribune of the people' as he was called, he succeeded in founding, on August 3, 1851, the *Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha*, or 'Guides on the Mazdayasnan path'. Naoroji Furdoonji was appointed President and Dadabhai Secretary. The avowed object of the Society was to expound the true tenets of the Zoroastrian creed, to take off the wrappings, to discover the vital and essential elements, and to restore the ancient religion to its pristine purity.

Of all the associations with which Dadabhai had been actively connected during those years, the *Rahnumae Sabha* gave him the greatest trouble and anxiety. Being the

Secretary, he had to bear the brunt of the work and to combat the constant attacks in newspapers and at meetings of rival associations. Having, however, given his heart to the cause, he never counted the cost. Whilst his opponents indulged in calumny, he declined to descend to their level. Taking his stand on reason, he challenged them to meet him on that ground. In the end success crowned his efforts and the religion of Zarathushtra was weaned from most of the alien accretions. The *Rahnumae Sabha* achieved its object; it survived the shocks of time, and still carries on its useful work, while its rival, the *Rahe Rastnumae Zarathustrian Sabha*, met with the death it deserved, before it was three years old.

What has been the net result? The hideous army of foreign godlings has been routed: Zoroastrianism has come into its own. Slowly, but strikingly, the alien and the accidental have been distinguished from the ancient and the essential. Moreover, the effort to shake off the outer husk has led to a revival of the study of the Scriptures.

Fifty years after the flag of reform was thus unfurled, Dadabhai received in London, a message from Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, who, after Dadabhai, was the moving spirit of the Society and its President, that, it proposed to celebrate its jubilee. In his reply, Dadabhai recalled the initial difficulties: In the beginning, what vicissitudes they had gone through! The first central idea of the *Rahnumae* at its start was to restore the *Zarhosti* religion to its pristine purity and simplicity. That object had been faithfully adhered to under difficulties enough to damp any enthusiast. But nobody would deny that not a little of this success was due to Cama's knowledge of the Avesta and to his untiring exertions to bring out and encourage additional workers in the field.

Dadabhai lived to witness also the diamond jubilee of the Society. A deputation consisting of several members waited on him at his residence at Versova near Bombay, and conveyed its greetings to him as its founder. The Students' Literary and Scientific Society and the *Dnyan Prasarak* Mission had their jubilee celebrations. During the last

ten years of his life his residence had become a place of pilgrimage for educated and refined women, representatives of all communities. They went there annually to greet him on his birthday and to bless him for all that he had done for the uplift of Indian women. To one whose whole life was a chapter of reform, reform here, reform there, reform everywhere, what other thought could have been more cheering in old age than that his zeal for progress during his youth had led to the transformation of a whole nation ?

CHAPTER V

EARLY POLITICS

By its charter of 1833, the East India Company had secured a twenty years lease of life. From a trading company it had become a ruling body. To renew or not to renew its charter was the burning question of the day throughout the year 1852. It supplied the necessary impetus to Young Bombay to plunge into politics. With the spread of western education the Indian people began to feel that they had a right to demand that the country should no longer be governed in the spirit of a commercial concern. Even when there was not a single university in the land and no army of discontented graduates, the greatest grievance of the people was the exclusion of Indians from the service of the State. A clause had been specially introduced in the Act of 1833 to the effect that no native of India, or natural-born subject therein, should be disqualified from office by reason only of religion, place of birth, descent, or colour. It was, however, rendered nugatory by the maintenance of a distinction between the covenanted and uncovenanted services. Young men educated at Haileybury College were sent over from England to superintend the collection of revenues and to administer justice.

A good opportunity to ventilate these grievances was presented by the application of the Company for an extension of its political existence. The leaders of the different parties in England, the Ministers, the President of the Board of Control, and the Members of the Court of Directors had, it seemed, agreed among themselves to renew the Charter.

The Bengalees took the lead and formed an association for sending representations to the British Government. Young Bombay followed suit. On August 26, 1852, a meeting of the 'native inhabitants' was held in the rooms of the Elphinstone Institution, where the first political association in the Bombay Presidency, named the Bombay Association, was inaugurated.

Among those present was Dadabhai. His speech on that occasion would now appear to be a very tame affair. It has, however, to be read in the light of the circumstances prevailing in mid-Victorian days. Public life in India was then at a very low ebb. The tide of national consciousness had not yet set in. At such a stage, advocates of reform could merely appeal to the rulers' sense of fair play and justice.

That maiden speech on politics foreshadowed the political creed which sustained Dadabhai in later life despite terrible disappointments.

Under the British Government (said he) we do not suffer any great *zoolum* (oppression). We are comparatively happier under the kind Government than we are likely to be under any other. Whatever evil we have to complain of originates from the ignorance of European officers coming fresh from home. With regard to many of the habits, customs, and usages prevailing in this country, they may pass laws or regulations injurious to the nation and yet fancy they have done their duty conscientiously. But if an Association like this were in existence, we can suggest improvements. These suggestions coming from such an Assembly must be listened to.

If we analyse this speech, we find the root principles of his political philosophy. India's wrongs should not blind her to the benefits of British rule. Her destiny had been linked up with it. The authorities erred, but, it might be, with the best of motives.

Heretofore the critics of the British administrators were their own countrymen. Now, however, commenced the investigation by Indians themselves of their country's wrongs. With every further step in that enquiry, the list of grievances increased. With every effort to bring them home to the authorities, the hopes of obtaining a sympathetic hearing received a rude shock. But, however discouraging the outlook, the key-note of Dadabhai's policy remained the same. It induced a general belief among the Indian politicians of the day that the English people in their own country were different from their kinsmen out in India and that they would, with their traditional love for justice, extend a helping hand to their Indian fellow subjects.

DB . 1380304-8.4.1969, Pg.3:50

During the closing years of the nineteenth century there was rising a new generation, whose estimate of British rule and British character was founded only on experience of evasion of promises and repression. A growing section derided the elders' idea of dependence on the British public for the redress of India's woes. Salvation seemed to lie not in supplication but in self-assertion, not in submission but in counter-action. The advanced party preached the gospel of violence. Even many of the moderates among the Indian National Congress felt that faith in British justice was a sorry crutch to lean on. Yet their weather-beaten general did not falter for a moment and went all the way from London to Calcutta, in the year 1906, to reaffirm the basic principles of his creed. 'Our faith and our future (said he) are in our own hands. If we are true to ourselves and to our country and make all the necessary sacrifices for our elevation and amelioration, I for one have not the shadow of a doubt that in dealing with such justice-loving, fair-minded people as the British, we may rest fully assured that we shall not work in vain'.

The Bombay Association's petition created a stir in England. Several friends of India, raised their powerful voices in favour of the petitioners, while the cynical Cobden saw no advantage either to the Indians or to their foreign masters in England. 'Hindoostan', he said in a subsequent letter, 'must be ruled by those who live on that side of the globe. Its people will prefer to be ruled badly—*according to our notions*—by its own kith and kin than to submit to the humiliation of being better governed by a succession of transient intruders from the antipodes'. His countrymen, however, were in favour of retaining India.

On March 13, 1853, a meeting of 'The Friends of India' was held in Charles Street, St James's Square, London, and it constituted itself an India Reform Society, with Danby Seymour as President and John Dickinson as Secretary. Its activities, however, could not materially influence the decision of the House of Commons, which still acquiesced in the retention of the double system of government with all its cumbrous machinery. All the civil and medical appointments to the Company's service in India were

22 DADABHAI NAOROJI : THE GRAND OLD MAN OF INDIA

thrown open to public competition. As, however, such competition was to be conducted in England, Indians were practically debarred from engineering the service. The result of the agitation, as a whole, was in no way gratifying to the Indian public. It established, however, one point very clearly, namely, that concerted agitation and action had wrung from the British Ministers more than was considered possible. Thenceforth, 'agitate, agitate, and agitate' became Dadabhai's watch-word.

CHAPTER VI

A PREACHING FRIAR

BEFORE Dadabhai had attained his thirtieth year, his signal services in several spheres raised him to the position of a leader not only of the Parsi community but also of the Bombay public. In that capacity he felt keenly the need of an independent newspaper. Pioneers of reform are invariably handicapped for want of an organ to expound their views. The press, as a rule, shouts with the crowd; a cash basis governs the policy of journals just as much as that of any other business concern. There were in Bombay five Gujarati journals, all owned by Parsis, but none had the independence or the impartiality needed for the cause of reform. Dadabhai had the zeal and the will to start and run such a newspaper, but not the means to finance the scheme. He mentioned the difficulties to his public-spirited friend, Kharshedji Nasarwanji Cama, and found in him an enthusiastic counsellor and helper.

Carlyle speaks of a preaching friar setting himself in every village, building a pulpit which he calls a newspaper, and preaching therefrom what most momentous doctrine is in him for man's salvation. Such a preaching friar was Dadabhai. The first number of the new journal saw the light on November 15, 1851, when a thousand copies were printed for free distribution. There was not a single advertisement in it; it was a sheer labour of love. November 15 was an unusual day for launching a newspaper. There was, however, a good reason for ushering it in advance of the new year. A serious local disturbance, which had culminated in a Parsi-Moslem riot, impelled Dadabhai to hasten into the arena of journalism.

An ill-conceived article in a magazine, called *Chitra Dnyan Darpan*, edited by a Parsi youth, caused an appalling ferment. It had arranged to give a series of memoirs of celebrated persons who had influenced and transformed

of Arabia found a place in that galaxy, but the account that Behramji Kharshedji Gandhi, its editor, gave of the Prophet's life was wanting in that sentiment of respect and tolerance which is due to a sister community. Not unnaturally, the feelings of the Muhammadans, the most sensitive people on earth in matters affecting their faith, were seriously hurt. The lithographed portrait of the Prophet, which was given with the article, also gave umbrage, as Islam did not permit it.

There could be but one answer to such insane provocation. Islam was up in arms. Large crowds of Muhammadans assembled in the mosques of the town with the Koran in one hand and a knife in the other. The Parsis avoided entangling themselves with the infuriated crowd, but the Muslims were bent on vengeance.

Dadabhai felt, along with a large number of Parsis, that the leaders of the community had betrayed and humiliated the community. As the elders did little to protect them, the Parsi residents of Baharkote looked to 'Dadabhai Master', as he was then called, to represent their grievances to the authorities. To him they entrusted the task of drafting their memorial, and to him alone they made over the custody of the funds raised for their defence. Seeing the craven attitude of the press and the vacillating policy of the leaders, he felt bitterly the need of an independent and an intrepid newspaper especially as a fresh outbreak was faced. This accounts for the fact that he took the field forthwith with the new weapon, the *Rast Gofar*.

The paper was thus launched, in the thick of the fray, as a fearless champion of truth and justice and as an uncompromising exponent of the forward school of thought. Its young editor was not a novice. His literary output, even at that early date, was considerable.

The first three numbers of the *Rast Gofar* were almost exclusively devoted to a discussion of the situation created by the riots. In most touching terms the editor showed how supine the attitude of the Parsi leaders of the community was. This indictment gave a foretaste of the intrepid spirit which later marked his political speeches and

writings. The stern critic who, in later years, was never weary of fighting courageous battles against vested interests and denouncing the high-handedness and inequities of the rulers, was not slow in leading a revolt against the leaders of his own community and questioning their authority to speak in the name of the people.

After the horrors of the Napoleonic war there was practically peace in Europe for nearly forty years. High hopes were entertained, particularly after the Great Exhibition of 1851, of permanent peace, but these were doomed to disappointment. Within three years the Czar of Russia claimed recognition of his rights as Protector of the Christian Subjects of the Turkish Sultan. This claim was repudiated by the 'Sick Man of the East', who, despite all his infirmities, declared war upon Russia, fully relying on the support of England and France. The astute Ottoman was not wrong. England and France soon found themselves drawn into the fray.

The theory then current was that Russia on the Danube meant Russia also on the Indus. No wonder when the Patriotic Fund was raised in connexion with the war, there was great enthusiasm among the people of India to mark not only their sense of loyalty to the British Crown but also their gratitude for the endeavours of the rulers to keep the Russian wolf as far away as possible from their frontiers. A public meeting was held in Bombay on January 31, 1855, in furtherance of the objects of the Patriotic Fund. Lord Elphinstone presided; Dadabhai was one of the speakers. 'A very pertinent question has been asked', said he, 'why the natives of Bombay should join in contributing to the Patriotic Fund, and the question has been very ably answered by Dr Wilson, who has pointed out to us that the interest of India are bound up with those of England'.

CHAPTER VII

FROM COLLEGE TO COUNTING-HOUSE

‘DADABHAI, what a fall!’ said Principal Harkness when he learnt that the Professor had decided to exchange mathematics for merchandise.

What could have induced Dadabhai to take such a step? In some stray notes he has left behind he states that he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas (the first Indian firm established in London in the year 1855) as he was ‘desirous of seeing an intimate connexion established between England and India’, and ‘particularly to provide a home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services’. ‘India for the Indians’ was his slogan even during those early days. Thus what seemed at first sight to be a fall turned out to be a rise, an indispensable step for Dadabhai’s elevation to the unique position he afterwards attained as the greatest patriot of his day.

In the year 1855 the Camas decided to open a business-house in London with a branch in Liverpool. In this pioneering venture they required the co-operation of a partner of high ability and integrity; they invited Dadabhai to join the firm. The Professor agreed. With Dadabhai went Muncherji Hormusji Cama and Kharshedji Rustamji Cama to found the new firm, under the name Cama & Co. These three were to form a triumvirate. No action was to be taken unless they were unanimous in their decision; matters in dispute were to be referred to the Head Office in Bombay. A more unbusinesslike arrangement could not have been devised. Numerous occasions arose when the triumvirate found it impossible to come to a unanimous decision.

There were also strong differences of opinion concerning fundamental principles and policy. Dadabhai felt he was called upon to lay in England the foundations of success

not merely of his firm but also of the business enterprise of Indians generally. On the credit of his firm and the confidence which it inspired in the London market would depend the chances of development of India's trade with the Continent. Kharshedji Cama shared his idealism in business, but it often startled Muncherji Cama. He complained to the Head Office that it had given him as a colleague a philosopher who did not mind sacrificing the interests of the firm to what appeared to be quixotic principles of commercial morality.

Amongst the varied commodities handled by Cama & Co., in the course of its business were opium, wine, and spirits. Dadabhai could not persuade himself to pocket the earnings of dealings in articles which led to the degradation and ruin of thousands of human beings. In a letter written to Kharshedji Nassarwanji Cama in the Gujarati language, which was then the medium of communication between them, he informed his more practical partners that he had decided not to accept his share in the profits accruing from such transactions.

Will you tell me (asked Cama in reply) from what sources Government get funds for the payment of salaries to professors of colleges and other officers? Did you not receive your salary as a professor from revenue derived from the traffic in opium and liquor? If you retire from business and revert to Government service, will you not once more live on the tainted revenue obtained from the same business that stinks in your nostrils? If our firm ceases dealing in opium, will it put a stop to the traffic in that commodity? Will not others deal in what you taboo?

Nothing, however, could induce Dadabhai to change his mind. The result of all such differences of opinion was that Dadabhai severed his connexion with the house of Camas. He returned to India, his mind more enriched than his pockets. To have lived in England for three years during that era was in itself a liberal education. It was an era when such great figures as Gladstone, Cobden and Bright were breathing a new spirit of liberalism into British politics, and such authors as Herbert Spencer, Mill, and Carlyle were

revolutionizing society with new theories of social reconstruction. In such an atmosphere Dadabhai realized vividly the contrast between the social, political, and economic condition of the people of the West and that of his own countrymen. Where could he have studied political theory, the working of democratic institutions, and the parliamentary system of government better than in the country universally recognized as the 'Mother of Parliaments'? What, indeed, could have been a better school for the study of international commerce, banking, and currency than London, the heart, the brain, the nerve centre of the British Empire?

While growing more and more conscious of the faults of the British administration in India, Dadabhai learnt to appreciate also the sense of justice and fair play in England. The study of the strong and weak points of British character stimulated in him the desire to have India's battles fought not only on the floor of the House of Commons but throughout Great Britain.

In March 1856 Dadabhai was nominated Professor of Gujarati in the University College, London. He held that office till the year 1865-66, when he retired. He was also a member of the Faculty of Arts and Laws and a member of the Senate of the College.

On January 9, 1859, after a short stay in Bombay Dadabhai embarked on his second voyage for Europe. Arriving at Liverpool, he started business on his own account under the name of Dadabhai Naoroji & Co. There was none now to stand between him and his principles. The course of business ran smooth. It was established beyond doubt that successful trading was in no way incompatible with the principles of ethics.

In the midst of all his literary and commercial pursuits Dadabhai seldom missed an opportunity of voicing the grievances of Indians. Indeed, he became an unofficial ambassador for India in England. In 1859 commenced his campaign of agitation concerning the injustice inherent in the system of recruiting the Indian Civil Service. Open competition for the Service had not long been established when, all of a sudden, the India Office announced a reduction in the age limit from 23 to 22. This change debarred

the very first Indian student, Rustamji Hirjibhai Wadia, from appearing at the examination. Dadabhai submitted a protest to the Secretary of State for India and asked that in justice all candidates otherwise eligible should be allowed to appear at the examination.

To Dadabhai, however, it was a question of vital national importance. He continued the agitation until an assurance was given that no further changes in the Civil Service Regulations would at any time be made, without due publicity.

The transfer of the administration from the East India Company to the Crown and Queen Victoria's memorable Proclamation, promising equality of treatment to her Indian subjects raised fresh hopes. That Proclamation became his Bible. He quoted it repeatedly with as much reverence as a Christian divine would have quoted the Scriptures. It was not, however, easy for the rulers to fulfil the pledges implicit in that charter of liberty. They tried for years to circumvent it. He believed, he said, that the Ministers who had advised Queen Victoria in framing memorable documents ever meant those words to be construed in a narrow, literal, restricted, or pettifogging sense."

To the youths sent to England Dadabhai was a sort of guardian-general. He had a wonderful gift of drawing them to him. For years there was under his supervision a group of students who profited by his unrivalled knowledge of the affairs of the world as well as by the example of his simple and methodical habits and high ideals. To help them to qualify themselves for high offices in the State was the first step towards the goal of Indianization of the services. The next step was agitation. Taking the pledges in the Queen's Proclamation as his birth-right, year in and year out, he continued to preach the gospel of 'India for Indians'.

CHAPTER VIII

DOMESTIC TROUBLES

It is time now to glance into the home of Dadabhai. A pathetic feature of the life of almost all leaders of thought in India, during the middle of the nineteenth century, was the lack of intelligent fellowship and co-operation of their wives. In no case, however, could the situation have been more poignant than in that of Dadabhai. Into the details of that chapter there is no need to enter. In order, however, to follow the course of events that impelled him to return to Bombay post-haste, in September 1863, it is necessary that the veil should now be partially lifted.

Besides labouring under the disabilities common to the illiteracy of the age, Dadabhai's wife Gulbai, was far from being prepossessing, and awkward in speech and manners. Dadabhai tried his best to teach her, but she showed not the least aptitude for study. She could not even read or write. Not so, however, his mother. As her son arrived at man's estate, she began to realize the enormity of the mistake she had made in thoughtlessly marrying him in his early boyhood. Could she not yet repair the mischief done? On the eve of the passing of the Parsi Matrimonial Laws which made bigamy penal, many a Parsi took unto himself a second wife in the life-time of the first. Dadabhai's mother wished her son to follow suit, but he instinctively shrank from what appeared to be a revolting proposal. Painful though it was to him to disregard her wishes, he could not help thinking that she was in this respect unreasonable and unjust; she, on the other hand, thought he was dense and obstinate. She appealed to her brother, Rustamji Desai, to prevail upon Dadabhai not to allow his sentiments to overpower his reason. He tried to induce his nephew to pay heed to his mother's advice, but in vain. That was the position when Dadabhai had gone to England for the second time. Dr Archer, an English medical practitioner in front of his house, had three educated and intelligent

daughters. Dadabhai used to visit them frequently. Muncherji Cama could not brook such familiarity. Rumours were soon set afloat that Dadabhai had become a convert to Christianity and wished to marry an English woman. These reports reached the ears of his mother. She sent piteous protests imploring him to desist from taking such a step. 'I tried to persuade you', she said, 'to take a second wife, but you would not listen to me. Now you think of marrying an English woman and bringing disgrace to our family!'

Dadabhai was greatly hurt. Not only his honour, but also the happiness and peace of mind of his wife and mother were at stake. He went straight to the P. and O. Company's office and booked his passage to Bombay.

It was twelve o'clock midnight (September 9, 1863) when a visitor knocked at the door of Dadabhai's family house in Bombay. Manekbai and Gulbai were fast asleep, but a friend and major-domo of the family rushed to the door.

'Who's that?' he asked.

'It is Dadabhai', was the reply

'What?' thundered the man inside. 'You villain, how dare you take Dadabhai's name who is in England?'

'Maku', said the visitor, gently calling the man by his name, 'please open the door'.

These words had a magic effect on Maku. Recognizing the familiar voice, he joyfully threw the door open and held Dadabhai in his arms.

Dadabhai left Bombay for England on April 29. On this occasion he took with him, for the first time, his mother and wife, and his son Ardeshir and daughter Shirin.

Before he sailed for Europe Dadabhai had offered to the Bombay University, of which he had been nominated a fellow in April 1864, a sum of Rs 1,75,000 for the endowment of a Fellowship to perpetuate the memory of Lord Canning. The amount was contributed by several donors, Dadabhai himself having subscribed Rs 50,000. The proposal, however, fell through as, before the amount was

'This letter was written by me,' said Framji Bustomji Desai to

paid the commercial crisis which supervened on the termination of the American Civil War spelt the ruin of many a business concern and also of many an individual in England and India. Before the war England used to buy huge quantities of cotton from the Southern States of America ; after the outbreak of hostilities the supply was cut off and the Lancashire spinners had to look to Bombay for the raw material. There was thus a boom in the cotton trade in the Bombay markets, followed by speculation, which drove the entire population of Bombay crazy and brought about the ruin of numerous merchant princes and commercial houses in India.

For Dadabhai's firm the war was a windfall. During the period of hostilities it received large consignments of cotton, and he amassed a fortune. He had, however, dealings with several firms in England and India, which owed him large sums of money. Their collapse inflicted severe losses on him, but the chief cause of catastrophe was his own good nature, his sheer-effacement in helping others. Although the times were critical, he had tried to extricate a friend from embarrassment. Speculation during those giddy days had brought him to the verge of insolvency. When Dadabhai heard the tale of his woes, he bestirred himself to avert the crisis. Against the warning of friends he stood surety for the man who had incurred losses to the extent of £ 30,000 and was practically bankrupt. He thus saved the friend's firm, but imperilled the stability of his own. The creditors of the insolvent firm flocked to his doors, brandishing their books of account and demanding immediate payment. Dadabhai quickly met all his obligations as a surety, but saw his own firm go under.

Even in the midst of failure Dadabhai's credit for integrity stood as high as before. Within a week he placed his accounts before his English creditors. Impressed by his integrity, they released him from his liabilities and engaged his own services in connexion with the liquidation proceedings. They also showed their confidence in him by offering him fresh loans to set him up in business again.

Ever cool and collected, Dadabhai took his misfortunes

philosophically. Miss Serene Cursetji, who was then a guest of the family, refers in her diary in touching terms to the troubles which he faced with his characteristic calm during those unhappy days. Writing on Tuesday, June 26, 1866, she observes :

Poor Dadabhai has truly a deal of patience and his troubles he bears marvellously. I learnt from papa that his affairs will have to be wound up in a day or two : this will be done more through the misconduct of his creditors, many of whom have behaved shabbily, very shamefully towards him, but I feel sure God will reward him for his righteousness.

By Friday, June 29, it was all over. Miss Cursetji's diary for the day opens with these words :

None could think from the unshaken calmness and patience that reigned in Dadabhai's face as well as action that his affairs were in such a dreadfully painful condition. As usual he took his breakfast—but poor Dadabhai's mother was sad and kept crying for the whole day and speaking in more than harsh terms to poor Mrs. D. All this was very painful.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATING THE BRITISH PUBLIC

THERE is a silver lining to every cloud. The gloom of reverses in business was dispelled by the brilliance of Dadabhai's success in other spheres of public usefulness. Pursuit of commerce in England was not an end but a means to an end, namely, work for the economic and political well-being of India. To that end he now bent his whole energy, resorting to means more congenial, more direct and more promising.

Dadabhai's first impulse, when he went to England, was to obtain first-hand knowledge of the cultural and political institutions of England. Whilst studying those institutions, he felt more and more convinced that if the British people were true to themselves, true to their inbred sense and traditions of equality, justice, and fair play, they would help India to obtain freedom. But the arrogance of the British officials of the day and their unfeigned contempt for Indian intellect and character were positively destructive of such optimism.

It was impossible for him, single-handed, to rivet the attention of the British public on the diverse neglected problems affecting the welfare of India. For the creation of a healthy public opinion in England it was necessary to have a group of workers. Without British allies and their co-operation the need for Indian reforms could not be adequately impressed on the House of Commons in whom rested the ultimate authority. Dadabhai, therefore, started in collaboration with W. C. Bonnerjee, the London Indian Society, with the object of bringing Englishmen and Indians together at social gatherings and exchanging views on subjects connected with India. There were two interesting self-denying ordinances. The Society could not discuss 'any purely religious subject', nor could it at any time pledge itself to any party, political or social, in India or

in England. Thus protected from pitfalls, the London Indian Society carried on useful propaganda for more than fifty years, with Dadabhai as its President until his retirement from England in the year 1907.

Not only for defending the economic and political rights of the people of India, but also for vindicating their intellect and their character, he had to enter the arena of public controversy from year's end to year's end. In February 1866, John Crawford, President of the Ethnological Society of London, read a paper in which he sought to establish the intellectual and moral superiority of European races over Asiatics. Not only the President of that learned Society, but almost the whole of Europe was then under this ethnological illusion, which was the result of a superficial study of races according to the divergences of their cephalic index, colour, facial angles, and other peculiarities. Dadabhai would not allow such a libel to go unchallenged. He was not out to demolish all the sociological fallacies underlying the paper; he was anxious merely to vindicate Indian intellect and Indian character. He, therefore, came forward the very next month with a crushing rejoinder, tearing to shreds all the specious arguments in Crawford's thesis. It was a spirited and cogent appeal to history and science which only a student of the history and literature of Europe as well as of Asia, ancient as well as modern, could have put forward within so short a time.

Repeated misrepresentations brought home to Dadabhai the need for an organization, more broad-based than the London Indian Society. Once more, therefore, we find him working on a project for the formation of an association to lay solid foundations of mutual understanding and friendship between England and India. The outcome was the East India Association, inaugurated on December 1, 1866, in collaboration with a committee of retired English officers with whom the idea of acquainting the British public and the British Government with matters pertaining to the East Indies appears to have originated. Its membership was thrown open to all who were interested in the welfare of

ests of India and promotion by all legitimate means of her welfare was its object.) As an institution it aimed at providing a Library and Reading Room, and affording Members of Parliament and the public generally information and assistance on Indian subjects.

During his stay in England Dadabhai had succeeded in rousing in English friends such sympathy for his country and such regard for his disinterested labours that a large number of eminent English politicians, statesmen, ex-governors, and ex-officials resident in England readily joined the Association. The first President was Lord Lyveden, son of Robert Smith, Advocate-General of Bengal, whose fame among the people of India was, 'greater than that of any *Pandit* since the days of Manu'. Lord Lyveden was born in Calcutta. Dadabhai was at first only a member of the Committee, but the duties of Secretary of the Association soon devolved on him.

The platform of the Association provided a forum for all possessed of any special information or views on Indian and Colonial subjects. At its meetings was always to be seen a brilliant assemblage of prominent Englishmen, Indians, and Anglo-Indians, exchanging views on Indian affairs, uniting in voicing Indian grievances, and stimulating, so far as possible, the British public and the British Government to take a deeper interest in India than they had previously evinced.

At the very first meeting held on May 2, 1867, Dadabhai read a paper on 'England's Duties to India'. He raised three main issues. Was British rule in India a benefit to India and England? If so, what were the best means to make it endure for the longest possible time? Were such means adopted? Acknowledging the benefits of law and order under the British regime, he gave figures showing enormous contributions made by India towards England's wealth and strength. Then he referred to the annual drain of the wealth of the country to England and the total exclusion of Indians from the administration of their own country. Nevertheless, India wanted her connexion with

Member after member came forward to read papers on important subjects. On August 13, 1867, Dadabhai raised the question of admission of Indians to the Civil Service and proposed that a memorial be sent to the Secretary of State for India, demanding that competitive examinations should be held in India as well as in England. He then endeavoured to interest members of the House of Commons in this subject and succeeded in getting Henry Fawcett to give notice of motion to the effect that the House of Commons deemed it desirable that the examination should be held simultaneously in London, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.

Hostile critics often questioned the fitness of Indians for offices of trust. They were under the illusion that Indians were deficient in ability, integrity, and physical power and energy. Dadabhai asked those who thus spoke scornfully of Indians not to forget how some Englishmen in India, in former days, were suddenly transformed into rich Nawabs; how after selling their power and influence in India the Company bought their power in the English legislature by bribery; how the Company's servants cheated their own masters; and how their conduct furnished some of the most remarkable instances upon record of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice and even of shame. It was natural for educated Englishmen drawing high pay or profits to feel indignant at the bribery and corruption of the poor people with low education, low pay or profits, and low prospects, but Dadabhai asked them to look round and observe the amount of fraud and 'doing' in London and to remember that several Englishmen, drawn from the lower classes, were not behaving creditably in India.

The real question was, when Indians were as highly educated as Englishmen, did they attain to the same character for integrity or not? Holding in his hand a pamphlet of ninety-five pages, entitled *Evidence relating to the efficiency of Native Agency in India*. Dadabhai said he had collected a large volume of testimony 'as to the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives employed in the various departments of the Indian Service in office of trust and responsibility'.

It was an interesting symposium of opinions given by eminent authorities. Retired governors, civilians, and military officers, having experience of varied provinces, all testified to the intelligence of Indians ; a few of them, however, thought that integrity was not yet a strong point in Indian character. Dadabhai did not keep back from his audience a single adverse opinion ; he left it to them to draw their own conclusions.

Within two years of its existence the Association had demonstrated what a wide field of useful work lay before it. It set Dadabhai thinking how the efforts of its members could be reinforced if it had branches in India at the capital cities, and if it were helped financially by the Princes and the people of India. This idea commended itself to his colleagues. It was decided that he should proceed to India and establish branches of the Association in selected places and collect funds.

CHAPTER X

A FRUITFUL MISSION

WITH his heart and soul deeply engaged in the work of the East India Association and his mind full of plans for strengthening its position and extending its operations, Dadabhai arrived in Bombay. On May 5, 1869, he gave his first lecture explaining the objects and work of the Association. Like the lion, a very appropriate symbol of English character, the English public could not be roused easily, but, said Dadabhai, when once roused, no obstacle could stop it. All that was necessary was to make out a good case. 'A kind of Providence', wrote Edmund Burke, 'has placed in our breasts a hatred of the unjust and cruel in order that we may preserve ourselves from cruelty and injustice'. Probably Dadabhai had these words in mind when he told his audience : 'The Englishman is incapable of despotism. He might, and often did, carry things with a high hand, but the instinct and love of liberty, the constitutionalism which is born with and ingrained in him, made him at the time of trial recoil from being stigmatized a despot'.

The lecture evoked great enthusiasm. It roused the energy and quickened the imagination of the citizens of Bombay. At a large and influential meeting of representative citizens, held on May 22, the Bombay branch of the Association was formally inaugurated.

Dadabhai then went on a lecturing tour, particularly with a view to enlisting the support of the ruling Chiefs. Some of his Bombay colleagues, such as Dr Bhau Daji and K.T. Telang, however, fought shy of those potentates who, they believed, were intellectually, morally, and traditionally incapable of sharing the aspirations of young India or of furthering the objects that Dadabhai had in view. He was, however, of opinion, that if leaders of society in British India excluded the Princes from their political activity, they would be letting a very useful power run to seed.

Men of ability and influence in British India should place their advice and services at the disposal of the feudatory chiefs, and they in turn should lend their financial strength in support of the activities of such leaders for the advancement of India.

The result of his tour in Kathiawar justified Dadabhai's faith. The Princes received him kindly. Particularly from Cutch, Junagadh, and Gondal he received handsome donations. His Highness, Maharaja Shri Bhagvat Sinhji, Thakore Saheb of Gondal, who was an ardent admirer of Dadabhai and befriended him all his life, convened a public meeting of his subjects to hear the Indian patriot. His address, breathing ardent love for his country, thrilled the good people of that State, who had seldom heard a discourse on problems such as those presented to them, nor listened to such a lucid and saintly speaker.

Within a few months branches of the Association were established in Calcutta, Madras, and other cities, and substantial donations poured in from the Indian States. Thus, for the first time in history, one might say, Dadabhai was able to arouse a distinctly national feeling in India. His intense earnestness, his transparent sincerity and selflessness, and his sweet reasonableness and moderation, lent a peculiar charm to his appeal and extorted admiration even from members of the resident English community, intensely sensitive though it then was to criticism of the British administration.

About this time Pherozeshah Mehta had returned to Bombay from England. He was one of the protégés of Dadabhai whose sage counsel and inspiration (to quote Mehta's own words) had formed his character and elevated his ideals whilst he was studying law in England. Having been an eye-witness of the efforts made by Dadabhai in arousing the interest of the British public in Indian affairs, he told his countrymen, in his own impressive way, what sacrifices had been made by Dadabhai in discharging that patriotic duty. Seeing how a wave of enthusiasm had spread over the entire province and how the patriotic sentiments of the people had been stirred by Dadabhai's speeches, Mehta also started a movement for publicly appreciating the eminent services rendered by Dadabhai.

The public of Bombay responded cheerfully to the call. Since the days of Ram Mohun Roy, observed the *Native Opinion*, no Indian had achieved a more distinguished reputation both in India and in England. Ram Mohun Roy's reputation was chiefly confined to his own presidency of Bengal, but, said the writer, Dadabhai's name was welcomed by his compatriots in all the provinces, and most by the Indian Chiefs. Some of the leading citizens took counsel together, and it was resolved to present an address and a purse to Dadabhai. Why a purse? Because they knew that in his devotion to the cause of his countrymen he had neglected his own interests. They also knew how the genius of eminent politicians was often painfully humiliated and impeded by the straits of embarrassed circumstances. Dadabhai was not the man who would open his lips to anyone about his private troubles, but they felt it was their duty to spare him such embarrassment. A sum of thirty thousand rupees was accordingly collected.

Never before or after was a popular demonstration in India in honour of a 'political agitator' so vitalized by the participation of the European population as it was on this occasion. In the homage paid to the national hero the heart of the European resident beat in unison with the heart of the populace. There was a unique assemblage of the inhabitants of the City, European and Indian, at the Framji Cowasji Institute, on July 3, 1869, to do honour to Dadabhai. The address recalled the fact that wherever he had been, whether at home or abroad, he had disinterestedly devoted his time, talents, and energy to the promotion of social, political, and moral welfare of the people of India. It also referred in felicitous terms of his efforts in the cause of popular education and diffusion of useful knowledge, for the spread of vernacular literature and the creation of a taste for reading in the Gujarati-speaking population of the Bombay Presidency.

Dadabhai was overwhelmed with joy when he heard his early activities recalled, one after another, with appreciation and warmth of feeling, but the purse handed to him as a 'small token' of his countrymen's esteem and affection

Out of the subscribed amount a sum of Rs 25,000 was presented to Dadabhai, and the balance was kept for the cost of his portrait, which it was proposed to present to the Framji Cowasji Institute later. The greater part of the purse soon went to the East India Association. Owing to a defalcation on the part of an office-bearer of the Association, its financial condition had become so critical that Dadabhai took over the liabilities of that officer. There was not a ray of hope of recovering even a farthing, but there was the satisfaction that he had given a new life to the Institution.

Dadabhai was yet in his prime ; he was exposed to all the temptations strewn in the path of men in active public life. The testimonial was, therefore, a test of his moral fibre. It entailed on him new responsibilities and enjoined greater self-denial.

With the satisfaction that his mission on behalf of the East India Association had been crowned with success, beyond expectations, Dadabhai embarked on his fourth voyage for England. Little did he then realize that besides instilling new aspirations and hopes in British India his political propaganda had created an awakening among the Indian Princes. Much less did he realize the extent to which the sphere of his influence had been extended during those few months and the warmth of feeling of respect and admiration which his ability, integrity, and patriotic fervour had evoked from the Feudatory Chiefs whom he had set thinking as to the extent to which his propaganda could be helpful in adjusting the relations between their *durbars* and the Paramount Power. Still less could he have dreamt that the contacts thus established would give quite an unexpected turn to his own career and bring him back to India to offer advice and assistance to several Princes and to be installed on the *gadi* of Prime Minister of Baroda.

Arriving in England, Dadabhai resumed his activities to keep the Association constantly before the public.

In the year 1871 the number of members of the Associa-

in Parliament. At Dadabhai's instance, Henry Fawcett, dubbed 'the Member for India', had begun what became the annual custom of moving a resolution in the House of Commons favouring 'simultaneous examination' for recruitment to the Indian Civil Service. Moreover, whenever Indian questions were discussed in Parliament, several M.P.s prompted by members of the Association, or inspired by its discussions, spoke with knowledge of the wants and wishes of the people and brought informed criticism to bear on the solutions of Indian problems.

The work of the Association was growing apace ; it needed a centre ; it had to equip and maintain a library ; it had to build up endowment fund to ensure its stability. The funds brought by Dadabhai from India were not sufficient for these requirements. He was once more proceeding to India ; would he be good enough to send the hat round ? Dadabhai cheerfully undertook the begging mission. Immediately on arrival in India, he made arrangements for placing the branch of the Association at Bombay on an efficient footing. He then toured Kathiawar and Rajputana to collect funds and to interest the Princes and the people of the States in the cause of the Association.

The Council of the East India Association was warm in its acknowledgment of the assistance rendered by Dadabhai at all times and in the most critical circumstances. Even so handsome an acknowledgment could hardly have conveyed to the public an adequate idea of the infinite pains taken by the hard-working Secretary in approaching people to join the Association. Stenographers were not then to be had : Dadabhai had to carry on his voluminous correspondence and to write his minutes and contributions to the press and appeals for funds in his own hand.

CHAPTER XI

THE DRAIN

SUNK in abject poverty, India had the costliest and the lordliest administration in the world in the 'sixties of the past century. The inevitable consequence of a foreign rule everywhere is persistent transfer of wealth from the country of the subject people to that of their rulers. In the case of poor India the extravagance of the authorities intensified the drain. A very large portion of her revenue was carried away annually to England, depleting the national capital. Of that fact people in England had no conception. Dada-bhai, therefore, set himself the arduous task of proving the appalling poverty and distress of the people and the astounding indifference and extravagance of their rulers. It demanded patient study of details, intelligent research, and exceptional knowledge, skill, and reasoning in marshalling facts and figures. Fortunately for India, he had the requisite qualities, including a voracious appetite for work and inexhaustible energy to explore every avenue of research. Pursuit of commerce had now been subordinated by him to the quest of means to provide food for the half-starved millions of his country; the ordinary businessman's casual contemplation of the world's output and trade statistics had been superseded by the critical publicist's close scrutiny of the data concerning the production of the country and the income per head of population. The whole foundation of administration, financial and general, rested upon that one fact—the produce of the country, the ultimate result of all capital, labour and industry.

To work out the result was then equivalent to making^{*} bread without flour. Official information on the subject was inadequate and misleading; Blue books were compiled without the least idea of providing information on the issues with which the expert mathematician wished to come to grips. The sources of non-official information were practic-

ally dry. The Universities in India had not yet popularized the study of political economy ; and books on the subject were a novelty. In the year 1870, the only journal in India which gave statistics concerning the agricultural, mineral, and other sources of national wealth was -the *Indian Economist*, edited by Robert Knight. It, however, did not give Dadabhai the information he wanted. Detailed classification of the cultivated area was not available ; nor were there estimates of the average yield per acre for all the different crops. There were price statistics, but incomplete, and scarcely accurate for minor crops.

Not all the barriers could, however, keep the indefatigable explorer off the track. Being an adept at ferreting out the truth for himself, he gathered from far and near all possible information bearing on the question, subjected the evidence thus collected to a minute analysis, and came to the startling conclusion that the yearly income per head of the population was only 40s., roughly equivalent to Rs. 20.

During those days, India enjoyed unprecedented immunity from internal and external disturbances ; nevertheless there were deficits necessitating enhanced taxation. The revenue had increased, but the expenditure had grown in still greater proportion. It afforded a good reason for demanding an enquiry into the finances of the State. Under the inspiration of Dadabhai and Naoroji Furdoonji, the Bombay branch of the Association took the lead. It sent a petition to the Secretary of State praying that the finances of India might be placed on a satisfactory footing. It also sent Naoroji Furdoonji to England to enlist support in favour of the petition. The memorialists protested against the increasing burden of taxation and asked for the abolition of the income-tax. It does not appear to have occurred to them that the class bias underlying this proposal was scarcely befitting champions of the poverty-stricken millions of India !

The parent Association had at the same time embarked on a complete survey of the situation. After Dadabhai's paper was read, the President, Sir Charles Trevelyan, gave a very illuminating discourse on the subject. Twelve years of his life had been spent in the administrative service of

India and nineteen more years in the British Treasury. He was then appointed Governor of Madras, and finally Finance Minister in India. Speaking, therefore, with unrivalled experience, he expressed his concern that a real crisis had arisen. He welcomed the petition of the inhabitants of Bombay ; they had approached Parliament in the most dutiful and constitutional manner and were at least as well entitled to a respectful hearing as any English constituency would have been. The doyen of Indian finance could not, however, accept Dadabhai's description of the Home charges, as 'tribute', 'drain', and 'political remittances', nor would he subscribe to the Indian critic's observations concerning the 'impoverishing effect of foreign rule'. What were the Home charges ? Mostly stores supplied to India ; interest on money borrowed in England and pensions. Were they not legitimate charges for goods supplied and services rendered ? Was there anything objectionable in their nature, although there were, he admitted, certain evil tendencies of foreign rule ?

There was, no doubt, lavishness in respect of salaries and leave allowances, and in the immense gathering of civil and military officers from all parts of India at the hill stations during nearly half the year. The ever growing military expenditure, which absorbed nearly a third of the gross revenue, was more than the ordinary military expenditure of the great military monarchies of Europe, more even than the expenditure by which England maintained the security not only of the country but also of the whole of the British Colonies, including Canada. The Public Works Department was another illustration of unparalleled extravagance. Public works were excellent things, but when the choice was between more or less of public works and bankruptcy, they might well pause and consider.

Soon afterwards a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to inquire into the financial condition of India. It was another feather in Dadabhai's cap. He promptly submitted for its consideration 'a few remarks'—just sixteen thousand words !

Though an expert at figures, Dadabhai was yet a novice in matters concerning the procedure of parliamentary com-

mittees. When, therefore, he appeared as a witness before the Select Committee, together with Naoroji Furdoonji, on behalf of the East India Association, he could not carry the Committee with him on the first day of the evidence, but on the following day in a series of judicious questions put to him by Mr Fawcett Dadabhai brought out all he had to say. The report of the Select Committee was eagerly awaited, but the sudden dissolution of Parliament, early in 1874, owing to the defeat of the Government on the long-disputed question of higher education in Ireland, led to the Committee's extinction. Dadabhai had yet to write many a minute, ask for many an inquiry, and himself sit on a Royal Commission, not only to examine the real wants of the people of India, but also to suggest an equitable adjustment of relations between India and Britain.

CHAPTER XII

TO THE HELP OF A MAHARAJA

IN a wretched little house in Padra, near Baroda, there lay captive a member of the royal house of the Gaekwads, praying hourly for the death of his brother. Having been suspected of conspiracy to get rid of the ruling prince, his brother Khunderao, by sorcery, poison or violence, he had been deprived of his liberty. His friends sent petitions to the British Resident and to the Government of India ; but to no purpose. The only hope of release lay in his brother's death.

On November 25, 1870, the prisoner was more restless than ever. After several sleepless hours spent in swearing and raving, he felt exhausted. Just at that moment there was a rap on the door. A voice came from outside, 'Sircar!'

'Sircar !' muttered the prisoner, Mulharao Gaekwad. 'What mockery is this ?' Then instantly, as though he had guessed the object of the visit at so early an hour, he stepped forward and said, 'Come in'.

It was an officer from the British Resident in Baroda, deputed to inform the royal prisoner of the sudden death of his brother Khunderao and of the intention of the Government of India to put him on the throne, subject to confirmation by the Government of Queen Victoria. Mulharao received the news calmly.

Released from the dungeon, and placed on the *gadi* of this great State, what sort of a legacy did this prince inherit? Misgovernment had then reached its climax in Baroda. A coterie of intriguers and blood-suckers had seized the reins of office. Under their misrule the impoverished and oppressed people had been clamouring for years for redress.

'Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown'. But had Mulharao a head? Was there a moral background to his thoughts and desires? Normal intelligence he undoubtedly possessed; the faculty of discernment, too, was not

wanting. Prolonged imprisonment had, however, unhinged his mind. It was in such an unbalanced attitude that he received the joyful news that the author of his misfortunes was dead. Holding the reins of office, he found himself pulled in different ways by different parties. His friends, who had remained faithful to him during his long term of imprisonment, now aspired to positions of trust and responsibility. Mulharrao considered it his duty to reward all such adherents. In view of the possibility of a posthumous son being born to one of the Maharanees of the deceased Maharaja, another party had sprung up in the Durbar, consisting of men who were openly in support of the prospective mother. There was, also, a third group consisting of trimmers, who tried to please both sides.

Such *khatpat*, as it is called, was not uncommon in feudatory States; Mulharrao was capable enough to see through the intrigues of the different cabals and to handle each tactfully. But the besetting sin of the man was his weakness for women. Parents of pretty girls, panderers and harpies easily ingratiated themselves with the Maharaja and were placed in lucrative positions. The management of the State revenues was treated as a personal *giras*, and enormous sums were taken as *nazarana* from those to whom the revenues were farmed out and who in turn enhanced fourfold the exactions from the public. People abandoned their homes and estates to escape oppression. There were large deficits, which were made good by robbing the hereditary Sirdars of their dues. The administration of justice was a mockery; whoever offered the highest sum received a verdict in his favour.

Intoxicated by the unfettered powers and unrestrained pleasures placed within his reach, Mulharrao scarcely realized that the State of Baroda was getting more rotten every day.

Nemesis, was, slowly overtaking the depraved ruler. It was a custom that, when a Durbar was held in Baroda, the Gaekwad gave the Governor of Bombay the seat on his left. In no other Durbar did such a custom exist. Evidently, when Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, the Governor of Bombay, was thus seated at the Durbar, held by Mulharrao in the

year 1871, he felt he did not receive the courtesy due to Queen Victoria's representative in that territory. It was, therefore, stated in a *yad* (note) from the Resident, that it was the wish of the Bombay Government that in the same way in which the Governor accorded honour to the Gaekwar in his own Durbar the Gaekwar should honour the Governor of Bombay and accord him a seat on the right. 'Why should I?' exclaimed the indignant ruler. The special prerogative enjoyed by his State was in recognition of valuable assistance received from it by the British Government; he was not prepared to accept any other arrangement. Her Majesty's representatives in India, on the other hand, were adamant. Meanwhile, he received an invitation to attend the Viceroy's Durbar in Bombay in the month of November 1872. Fearing that he might not be offered a seat befitting his dignity, he decided not to go. His courtiers feared that this would be taken as a deliberate insult to the Viceroy. They earnestly appealed to him to accept the invitation. He, however, refused to budge an inch. Then some of the Durbaris suggested that he should consult Dadabhai in this matter.

How did Dadabhai come to be in favour with the Durbar? He had visited Baroda only a few months before, during his tour in Western India, to seek the Maharaja's patronage for the work of the East India Association, but had returned empty-handed. He was, however, known to be a willing worker in the cause of his motherland and anxious to enhance the prestige of the Indian States. Dadabhai happened to be in Indore when the courtiers of Baroda were in great perplexity; hence their suggestion to the prince to send for him. Mulharao agreed.

'Maharaj' said Dadabhai, 'you must attend the Durbar; I see no other way out of it. The Viceroy must not think that you have deliberately avoided to attend'.

'But I have resolved *not* to go. We invited you here to find out a way to carry out my resolve, without offending the Viceroy'.

'I can find none, Your Highness', said Dadabhai, gently but firmly. 'I cannot conscientiously ask you to do what, I fear, might be harmful to you'.

The Durbaris saw him depart in solemn silence. The Maharaja was riding for a fall ; who could stop him ? One of the members of the staff ran after Dadabhai and implored him to tarry awhile and to think of some way of averting the impending crisis. Dadabhai sat in a corner. Within a few minutes he seemed to have made up his mind.

Some days before, the Maharanee Saheb Mhalsabai, had prematurely given birth to a girl. The infant did not live for more than a week ; the mother was unwell. With these facts in the background, Dadabhai waited on Mulharrao for the second time. The disconcerted ruler was overjoyed. 'I understand you have at last found a good excuse', said he ; 'tell me at once what it is !'

'I advice Your Highness to go to the Dutbar, but if you must find an excuse not to go, you have one in the illness of the Maharanee Saheb Mhalsabai. You may send a telegram stating that having given birth to a child prematurely, she is very ill ; that her condition is worse on account of the death of that child and that in the circumstances you cannot attend the Durbar'.

Greatly relieved, the Maharaja nodded acquiescence. He then asked Dadabhai to suggest what could be done in regard to the larger issue raised by the Bomby Government about his seat in his own Durbar. The Government of Bombay wanted to humiliate him : he would never submit to it. As regards that issue, Dadabhai sympathized with Mulharrao. It might have been vanity, but for once the depraved prince appeared to be thinking in terms of self-respect and dignity. Dadabhai concurred in his opinion that there was no necessity for a departure from the practice which had been in vogue for half a century.

'Maharaj', he said, 'I would advice you to send a memorial to the Viceroy and another to the Secretary of State'.

'Who can draft it better than you ?' said Mulharrao, smilingly. 'Will you do it ?'

Dadabhai agreed. In the despatch which he drew up he recalled the varied services rendered by the Baroda State to the British from the earliest times down to the dark days of the Sepoys' Mutiny, when, [the Gaekwar had identified

his own cause with that of the British Government. It was in view of the 'exceptionally' cordial and loyal relations of the State with the British Government that it had been 'exceptionally' honoured in several ways, one of which was the privilege allowed to the head of the State to sit on the right in his own Durbar.

The Government of Bombay forwarded both the documents to the Viceroy who stated that the question could not be reopened. Another memorial, drafted by Dadabhai, was then sent direct by the Maharaja to the Secretary of State in July 1873.

Misgovernment in Baroda compelled the Paramount Power to appoint a Commission to investigate various charges of misconduct and misrule brought against the Gaekwar. He feared that this was the beginning of the end. For the first time he realized the urgency of putting his house in order. It was, however, a task beyond him and his Ministers. In despair he looked round for a Hercules ; his eye fell on Dadabhai. The invitation came to him, however, at the eleventh hour, when the house was actually on fire. Dadabhai hesitated, not because he feared harm might come to him, but because he was doubtful whether it would not be over-ambitious of him to accept such an administrative office. He consulted Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Erskine Perry. Sir Bartle warned him that if he accepted the post, he would be undertaking 'a terribly difficult task'. Sir Erskine, however, thought for the sake of good government, and for British interests as well as for the Gaekwar's, a better selection could not have been made. Dadabhai had himself repeatedly urged that men in British India with high educational attainments and strong moral character should be given opportunities to render themselves useful in the cause of good government. When such an opportunity was offered to him in an Indian State, could he refuse it ?

Maharajas as a class were known to be fickle. What if, one fine morning, Mulharrao woke up with a brilliant idea and said to his amiable Dewan : 'My dear Dadabhai Sheth, during your Dewanship I have learnt a very important lesson, and that is that only birds of the same feather can

flock together. In your wonderful zeal to create a new heaven and a new earth you have been soaring so high that I am lagging behind and impeding your progress. The best thing, therefore, is to let me remain on this wicked earth ; I shall be able to keep pace with a Dewan like my brother-in-law, Nana Saheb, and you, old bird, you go on soaring higher and higher in your seraphic flight—here is your passage to London !’

The supreme consideration however, was that of service in the cause of good government. Here was an invitation to him to promote that cause. As long as he had the confidence and co-operation of the Maharaja he would do his best for Baroda ; when these were withdrawn, he would not care to stay there for a moment. The decision was thus taken, for good or ill ; Dadabhai hastened to Baroda.

CHAPTER XIII

A CROWN OF THORNS

By the end of the year 1873 we find the Dewan-designate of Baroda buried in piles of State papers and State *dafters*. To gather up threads by diving into the by-gones of almost every question that came up, to keep abreast of current events, to remodel the machinery of administration and to lay plans for the future, was enough to keep him plunged in business from early morning till midnight: but such pressure of work was nothing compared with the trouble and worry caused by the intrigues of the wily crowd surrounding the Maharaja and the vexatious references and demands for explanation which came from the Resident. Encouraged by the mischief-makers in the Residency, people defied the authority of the officials of the State and sent petitions to the Resident, who passed on all sorts of frivolous complaints and memorials to Dewan for inquiry. The tide of official work rolled on in greater and greater volume, keeping him busy for two-thirds of the twenty-four hours of the day.

The careful man, who lived to be a nonagenarian could not be charged with neglect of health. It was one of his maxims that to have a sound mind in a sound body one should have eight hours' sleep. But how could he get time for the daily routine of life? Sometimes he sacrificed an hour's sleep; sometimes he snatched an hour from work. He had his bath early in the morning; his toilet was quite a simple affair; he knew no breakfast, and even his luncheon did not take more than three to four minutes. Help of capable and reliable men was needed to enable him to do his best for the State. Bal Mangesh was appointed Chief Justice; Kazi Shahabuddin was put in charge of the Revenue Department; and Hormusji Ardeseer Wadya, who was nominated Chief Magistrate and put in charge of the Criminal and Police Departments officiated also as Personal Assistant to the Dewan. With such earnestness he started

work; but many months were to run before he could be formally installed on the Prime Minister's *gadi*. The Maharaja had sent a note (December 23, 1873) to the Residency, intimating that Dadabhai had taken charge of his duties. In forwarding it to the Government of Bombay the Resident, Colonel Phayre expressed his opinion that in view of Dadabhai's 'invariable line of conduct towards the British Government', they would be incurring a very grave responsibility if they formally recognized him as Dewan. He failed to understand how a man of high principles could consent to serve a master of Mulharrao's character. He could only set it down to love of power and position. Whilst assuming the reins of office, Dadabhai had told the Maharaja: 'I am not accepting your service for gain or glory. My ambition is to bring about, with your kind co-operation, reform in the administration of your State. As long as I have your confidence and feel I am useful, all my energy will be at Your Highness's disposal. But the moment I find that the mutual goodwill is lost, or that my usefulness has ceased, I shall go'. The story of Dadabhai's relations with the Resident, and of the tragic end of Colonel Phayre's official career, might have been written differently had the impulsive Resident been present at this conversation or at another, a few weeks later, between Dadabhai and Wadya. According to the usual custom of the Durbar, Wadya had to make his *nazar*, or present, to the Maharaja, before he could formally take charge of his office. Seeing Mulharrao for the first time, in appearance the reverse of princely, undersized, of uninviting presence and coarse complexion, with eyes looking different ways and lips kept asunder by projecting black teeth he exclaimed: 'What a man to serve!'

'But Homi', said Dadabhai, with his hand on the youth's shoulder, 'we have not come to serve the man; we have come to serve the cause.'

After full consideration of the circumstances that had come to notice, the Commission submitted its eagerly awaited report. It was of opinion that the proceedings of Mulharrao had been 'highly arbitrary and in some instances very unjust and of a character calculated to bring grave

discredit on His Highness's administration and to excite distrust and alarm amongst a large portion of the influential and respectable classes of the community.'

The Bombay Government informed the Government of India that the Gaekwar had selected as his Dewan Dadabhai Naoroji who stood high in the estimation of many persons both in India and in England, and would no doubt, make every effort in his power to introduce a better system of government, but that it would be difficult to imagine a worse arrangement than that proposed to be made, in deference to the wishes of the Maharaja, namely, that the previous Dewan, His Highness's brother-in-law, should remain about the person of the Gaekwad under the title of *Pratinidhi*, and that the new holders of the four chief departments of government should have associated with them ministers who were previously in charge. 'The Gaekwar and his agents', they added, 'would be enabled to shelter themselves behind Mr. Dadabhai's reputation, and he would be powerless for any reform of abuses'. The Government of Bombay, therefore, hoped that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council would authorize them to recommend a fit person to the Gaekwar for nomination by him as Minister.

At the urgent solicitation of the Maharaja, a copy of the Commission's report was sent to him, early in April, when he was at Navsari, his summer resort. A reply was drawn up by Dadabhai, with the approval of Mulharrao, stating that as the Viceroy intended to offer his 'friendly advice' to the Gaekwar, he would await it before submitting his views. 'This is no reply' said the irate Resident, 'it is only a trick of Dadabhai to secure his position. A full reply should at once be given to the report'.

The Durbaris urged that a full and immediate defence should be sent. Dadabhai and Wadya, with their decided 'No', were in a hopeless minority. They had both passed sleepless nights poring over the records to unearth every bit of evidence that could be adduced in favour of the Maharaja. They could not, however, discover anything that could be honestly or usefully urged in defence. Even so, a counsel like Wadya would have loved to hold the Maha-

raja's brief, but, said Dadabhai, 'We are not here Homi, to defend the Maharaja's past ; we have to look to the present and the future'. Mulharrao, however, believed that the future depended on the justification of the past.

'Maharaj', said Dadabhai, 'although the report is open to attack in some places, it would be suicidal on your part to make an attempt to justify all that has been done'.

'Then what reply do you wish to send?' asked Mulharrao.

'My reply would be', said Dadabhai, 'that we do not think any useful purpose would be served by raking up the past, but that you desire to put things straight within a year or two. I would add that you are also prepared to give a guarantee for good government for the future'.

'That would mean I accept the verdict of the Commission'.

'Not necessarily', said Dadabhai. 'I would even go so far as to admit certain things. Yet I do not ask Your Highness to admit anything. If you follow the course suggested by me, you neither accept nor challenge the conclusions of the Commission. You merely consider it futile to discuss the matter, and, without admitting anything, show your willingness to take steps to ensure good government'.

The Maharaja was still adamant. 'So long as I am Dewan', said Dadabhai, 'no such communication as the Maharaja wishes to issue will emanate from my office. The only alternative for me is to tender my resignation. If it suits Your Highness, I am prepared to go, just as readily as I came in obedience to your call'.

It was twelve o'clock noon. The Maharaja's state coach stopped at Dadabhai's house. That was the hour when the Gaekwar used to drive daily in the sun, after his meal. Wadya hurried out to the Prince.

'Where is Dadabhai?' he asked.

'He is just coming, Your Highness; he has gone to fetch his turban'.

'I want him to drive with me', said Mulharrao, 'You should also come'.

After they had proceeded a few yards, Mulharrao said to Dadabhai : 'I have pondered carefully over your advice ; I wish to send a reply to Government as you suggest. Write

it out immediately and keep it ready for issue as soon as we go to Baroda. We must take care to see that the reply is despatched before those other fellows come to know of it.

This was another of those lucid intervals when Mulhar-rao's conversation and demeanour left nothing to be desired. A reply was drawn up accordingly and sent to the Resident.

Dispute heaped on dispute, complaint on complaint, intrigue on intrigue, marked the order of the day during the first seven months of Dadabhai's premiership. As yet his appointment as Dewan was not recognized. The Maharaja's own fate was hanging in the balance ; no reply had been received to his last communication concerning his promise to turn over a new leaf. Nevertheless, there was no slackening of effort on the part of the Dewan and his associates to proceed with the projects decided upon for reforming the administration.

Slowly but steadily the new regime was manifesting its advantages. The reorganization of the different departments was actively pursued ; new systems and improved methods of work were introduced. The head of the revenue department toured provinces and cheered the afflicted peasantry by his personal assurance of projected measures to relieve them of the heavy burden of assessment. The pernicious system of selling justice to the highest bidder, the greatest scandal of Baroda, was stopped, but not without a tussel with the ruling Chief. He had come to regard *nazarana* as a source of his own income, just as legitimate as any other method of raising revenue. Dadabhai had never cavilled with the Maharaja on trifles, but on points of principle he always held his own. In regard to those scandalous exactions he refused to listen to any compromise—he was determined that no *nazarana* should sully the fair name of justice during his ministership in the State of Baroda. The Maharaja had to yield. Instead of the hole-and-corner arrangements between the judges and the pleaders for the amount of *nazarana* to be paid to the Gaekwar and the bribes for judges and Durbaris, there was now a proper investigation of each case in open court, and decisions were based on merit. The police force was also purged of abuses ; people were astonished to

see police officers themselves accused of corruption tried in Wadya's court, compelled to give an account of their stewardship, and made to feel the weight of the law in case of guilt. By order of the Dewan and under his guidance the Penal Code and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes were under preparation by Bal Mangesh and Wadya, and the revenue system was being recast by Kazi Shahbuddin. Above all, the new regime marked the institution of a responsible, open-handed, and quickening administration in lieu of the old form of government, corrupt to the core, unaccountable and extortionate.

Faith in the righteousness of his cause sustained Dadabhai in his strenuous efforts to hold aloft the standard of reform in all branches of administration. All his colleagues toiled with him from early morning till late in the evening, giving a worthless Prince the best they had in them. After all, the greatest enemy of Mulharrao was Mulharrao himself; the greatest obstacle in the path of the righteous Dewan was the perverse Maharaja. There were large outstanding amounts due to the Maharaja in the matter of various law suits dispossed of under the old system. Bal Mangesh asked the Dewan whether the amount should be recovered. 'Not a pie', said Dadabhai. The sharp-beaked birds of prey made this a bone of contention between the ruler and the Dewan. Those *nazars* had been promised to the Maharaja; the Minister, they maintained, had no right to deprive him of his dues. Agreeing with them, he told Dadabhai that the system must be revived and the outstanding amount collected. After a good deal of argument, Dadabhai informed him, that if he was bent on reviving the pernicious system and relapsing into other old practices, he might please himself; Dadabhai would resign.

This message was communicated to Mulharrao verbally through Wadya and also in writing. The Maharaja now realized that he was drifting to the brink of a precipice. The Minister's resignation might mean British intervention and annexation. He cleverly retraced his steps, assuring Wadya that he had never for a moment doubted the sincerity of his Dewan. 'I am not going to part', he solemnly declared, 'from so good a Minister'. Dadabhai sent word .

that he would change his mind only if he were allowed a free hand. 'Please ask Dadabhai', said the Maharaja to Wadya, 'to prepare a statement of what he wants'. Dadabhai at once wrote a letter, in Gujarati (July 31), setting forth the terms and conditions on which he was prepared to continue in office. Meanwhile on August 3, came a despatch from the Viceroy, which put all other matters in the background.

Without knowing its contents, the Maharaja took it to be the reply to his representation on which hung his future. He called one of his trusted Durbaris and asked him to explain the contents to him. 'Thank God', said the man, 'it grants what you asked for'. Overruling the Government of Bombay, the Calcutta authorities preferred to hold the Gaekwar himself responsible for the good government of his State under a warning that if he did not reform his administration by the end of December 1875, he would be deposed from power. The choice of Minister was left to His Highness.

There was rejoicing in the Maharaja's palace, but wailing in the Residency. Foiled in his calculations, Colonel Phayre remained as intractable as ever. 'After all', said some of the Durbaris to him, 'the Maharaja has got a lease of power for seventeen months and will have his own way in the appointment of his Prime Minister'. The Colonel thereupon swore, '*Girainga! Girainga!* (I will bring him down, I will bring him down). You will see I will bring down the Dewan's administration within two or three months by raising all Baroda territory up against it'. Dadabhai was informed of this threat. He simply smiled and took no notice of it.

It was, however, a portent of the assaults which were to follow. The Durbaris at once made a dead set against Dadabhai. He was still the Dewan-designate; they could still unseat him. They told the Maharaja, 'Everything in future will depend on the Resident's reports about the administration of the State; he was kindly disposed; what could Dadabhai do?'

Within a week their intrigues assumed alarming proportions; the Maharaja's own attitude towards the Minister was anything but friendly.

‘Maharaj’, said Dadabhai solemnly to Mulharrao, ‘the Colonel is dead against us. We believe that if you are sincere and loyal to your pledges for reform, no harm will come to you from the British Government. In spite of this belief of ours, we desire that you should take time to think carefully before you decide that I should continue in the Dewanship’.

On this occasion, however, the Gaekwar seemed to have resolutely made up his mind. He was not afraid of the Resident’s threats ; he wanted Dadabhai to remain. Forthwith he issued a note that military honours be accorded to Dadabhai as Dewan. ‘Azam Dadabhai Naoroji’, ran the letter of appointment, ‘has my full confidence and is a worthy man’.

On September 23, 1874, the Dewan was invested with the insignia of office with all due ceremonies and amidst the rejoicing of the general public. Even the Resident showed a disposition to reconcile himself to the settled fact and expressed his willingness to support Dadabhai in his efforts to introduce reforms. What could have brought about this miraculous change? There is a history behind it.

Definite instructions had been given by Government to the Resident not to interfere any more in the selection of the Dewan. Nevertheless, he knew how to burrow like a mole, and utilize with great dexterity various underground sources of information to discredit Dadabhai. Despatch after despatch was sent to Government, impeaching him for countless sins, based on gossip, falsehoods, and half truths. There-upon another letter was sent the same day, full of calumny and fictitious complaints, and the distracted man went so far as to suggest that no formal recognition of Dadabhai as Dewan should be made by the Bombay Government and that the usual military honours due to the Dewan of the Baroda State, for which the Durbar had written to the Resident, should be withheld.

The Government of Bombay now thought it necessary to warn him that his ‘determined opposition’ to Dadabhai was inconsistent with the order that the Gaekwar should be left free to appoint his own Dewan and that he should

afford him every assistance he may need and accord to him the usual military honours. The incensed officer would not take this censure lying down. A defence of his attitude and action followed, which merely aggravated the previous offence. The Government in reply said, 'The explanation now offered cannot be pronounced satisfactory'. The question now was : Invested with all the authority of office, and armed with full powers, would the Minister be able to redeem Baroda ? The Maharaja would not part with his brother-in-law, Khanwalkar, the late Dewan, who was retained as his *Pratinidhi*, or representative, nor could his favourite *Karbhari*, Damodar, be set aside. Damodar had lately come into the good graces of the Resident, who, in an earlier communication, had described him as 'the notorious Damoderpant, the present favourite of the Gaekwar, the panderer to his grossest vices, the oppressor of women'. There was serious danger that such men would form a centre for the machinations of the old clique of Durbaris. Experience of the storms encountered in the past forbade hope of smooth sailing, but Dadabhai was an optimist.

CHAPTER XIV

MINISTER RESIGNS—MAHARAJA DEPOSED

THE formal installation of Dadabhai as Minister was signalized by a remission of one-fourth of the land assessment, a timely concession to the poverty of the peasantry, and by proclamations of far-reaching importance for the welfare of the public generally. One of these made the giving of *nazarana* by any subject, and the receiving of it by any officer, penal; another abolished the system of *veth*, or forced labour; another rendered the infliction of torture illegal. The Dewan began to hear and decide complaints against the Government concerning confiscation of property. He was prepared to come to a settlement also in regard to the cases of the disgruntled Sirdars who had not been paid their dues. With the hearing of these cases, however, commenced fresh troubles. The Sirdars assumed a menacing attitude, evidently under the instigation of wire-pullers. They insulted the Maharaja, assembled in streets in large numbers, and lodged appeals against the state before the Resident.

Instead of helping Dadabhai to settle their cases, the Resident acted as a prosecutor and harassed the Dewan with incessant and irritating interference. It was time, thought Dadabhai, that the Maharaja should demand that the Resident be recalled. The Maharaja agreed. A despatch was drawn up by Dadabhai.

The enraged Resident forwarded it with a communication from him, characterizing all that was written as 'false accusations' and 'disingenuous suppression of truth'. But the Government of India considered that the Resident 'thoroughly misunderstood' the spirit of the instructions both of the Government of India and the Government of Bombay and that the duties of Resident at Baroda could no longer be entrusted to him, with the reasonable prospect of a satisfactory result. The Government of Bombay also came in for blame for not having realized in time 'the gravity of the situation'.

As a temporary measure, Sir Lewis Pelly was deputed as Agent to the Governor-General and Special Commissioner at Baroda ; the Bombay Government's political jurisdiction over Baroda was suspended. In a long and dignified protest they stressed the political significance of the removal of a Resident at the request of an Indian Prince and added that they would themselves have transferred the Residency to other hands, 'if any other appointment of equal worth had been at their disposal for his employment'.

The curtain now rises over the India Office. There Lord Salisbury is seen poring over a pile of papers his face changing colour with surprise, irritation, and indignation. He expresses his regret that in a matter so grave the Governor and Council of Bombay, with their zeal for the prerogatives of the presidency of Bombay, should have allowed their minds to be swayed by 'motives of a secondary character'. He also finds that Colonel Phayre's character was little fitted for the delicate duties with which he had been charged and that his departure from the orders he had received was too serious to be overlooked. He is, however, relieved to find that the Government of India took, even at the eleventh hour, the necessary action.

It was a great triumph for Mulharrao that at his bidding an obstructive and aggressive Resident had been removed. Dadabhai received the news calmly, rather pensively. It is no pleasure to be the cause of the downfall of another ; in public life one's duty renders it necessary at times to resort to desperate remedies for the cure of desperate diseases, but that consideration cannot assuage the pain and pathos of it.

There were other reasons, too, why Dadabhai could not share the joy of the Maharaja or the jubilation of the public. Many things had happened since the removal of the Resident had been demanded. The Durbaris had not the slightest doubt that the demand would be turned down by Government as preposterous ; no political agent had ever been thus withdrawn. They had, therefore, set the stage for a general rising. The State revenue was falling off ; with the remission allowed, it would show a large deficit ; payment of arrears was resisted under the instigation of the gang work-

ing in collaboration with the Residency people. There was no money in the Treasury to pay the ordinary charges of administration, yet the Maharaja insisted on all the old dismissed courtiers being paid their emoluments. Large amounts had to be paid as the result of the investigation of complaints and petitions concerning the past administration; the Maharaja would not listen to his privy purse being tapped.

To add to these worries, a serious allegation was laid at the door of the Maharaja. Every morning, after a walk or a ride, Colonel Phayre was in the habit of drinking a glass of *sherbet* made of *pummelow* juice. On the morning of November 9, the Colonel threw away the morning draught after one or two sips. Within a short time he experienced nausea, a dizzy feeling in the head and other queer symptoms. He suspected mischief; on examining the goblet of *sherbet* he noticed a sort of sediment in the small quantity still left in it. The Residency surgeon found that the sediment consisted partly of arsenic and partly of some glittering substance like diamond dust. Suspicion pointed its finger at the Maharaja.

With the arrival of Ser Lewis Pelly, life in Baroda wore a different aspect. The administrative machinery began to run smoothly; all the pending cases were taken up one by one and equitable settlements reached. But funds were needed to pay all the just claims. Dadabhai suggested payment from the Maharaja's privy purse; it was but fair, he held, that a portion of the public funds wrongly appropriated towards private ends by the Maharaja should revert to the public. The Maharaja insisted, on the advice of his followers, that the amount required should be raised by a loan or taxation.

Mulharrao now began to make Dadabhai feel that he was not indispensable. It was a different thing when the enemy was at the gate. There was nothing left to hold together the two men, who stood poles apart in their outlook on life. There was nothing like friendship between them; no cordiality, no social intercourse. A sort of formality marked their relations. The Minister was not the man to mince matters; by nature he was incapable of

feigning friendship, when he could not feel drawn to a man. When the need for protection had disappeared, what else was there to make the Maharaja covet the services of his dewan? He knew Dadabhai was able, straightforward, honest, resourceful—all very well for the people—but did not his very virtues militate against what the Maharaja believed were his own rights and his own interests? The old Durbaris, who still surrounded him, were at it again. ‘Now the Dewan Saheb is supreme’, one would say within the hearing of the Maharaja; ‘Nay, he is the Gaekwar’, another would interpose; and the Prince would smile mysteriously, as if to say, ‘Wait and see how I get rid of the man!’

A terrible ordeal it was to work with such a ruler, but Dadabhai decided to make a final effort. A message was sent to the Maharaja, through Wadya, that during the few preceding days the Maharaja had allowed himself to play into the hands of his old associates; that the Maharaja had forgotten that Dadabhai had been invited to work as a Dewan, and not as a *karkoon* (clerk), merely to register Sircar’s decrees. After having shown much forbearance he had come to the conclusion that it was absolutely necessary that the old Durbaris should be sent out of Baroda.

The Maharaja expressed his regret that Dadabhai thought he had been treated as a *karkoon*; he did not mean to trench upon the Dewan’s powers, and promised to place full confidence in him. He could not, however, agree to send away his durbaris. Eventually, one day, in the presence of Damodar, he said to Wadya: ‘Tell Dadabhai, I may agree to send away the rest, but not Damodar. There are two men in the world I cannot do without—Dadabhai and Damodar’. After a hearty laugh over the honour of being ranked with Damodar, Dadabhai said: ‘Well, Homi, now this must be our final notice to him. Tell him that I have definitely made up my mind to resign and that I should be obliged if he would relieve me as early as possible. As for you and others, I would leave it to each one of you to decide’.

‘I am going’, said Wadya.

‘And we too’, exclaimed Bal Mangesh and Shahabuddin, who were present.

When the officers of the Bombay Government, whose services had been lent to Dadabhai only a couple of months before, heard this, they said they would not like to stay for even a few hours after his departure. The decision was solemnly conveyed to Mulharrao. He kept silent as though he were attending a funeral. After some minutes, Wadya took leave of him without waiting for a reply.

Dadabhai had a busy time disposing of all the work in hand and leaving notes for his successor. Then he called on Sir Lewis Pelly to bid good-bye. Sir Lewis persuaded him to continue for some time until a successor was appointed. The Maharaja, however, seemed disinclined to choose any one as Dewan.

Some days afterwards, when Dadabhai returned to his office after the usual visit to the Agent to the Governor-General, his assistants found that he seemed worried and wan. He went straight to his room and did not return for several minutes—a very unusual procedure. Wadya’s colleagues asked him to go and inquire what the matter was.

Wadya ran to Dadabhai’s room and asked him whether he was quite well. ‘Oh yes, Homi’, he replied. ‘I am coming presently to the office. I want to tell you something. Please ask the other officers also to wait for me’.

Within a few minutes he was at his desk and asked all of them to go near him. ‘I want to tell you’, he said in a low voice, ‘what I have heard just now from Sir Lewis. He first asked me whether there was any likelihood of my reconsidering the question of my resignation, because he had reason to believe the Maharaja would once more bring pressure on us to stay. I told him that we had all finally and definitely made up our minds. Sir Lewis then said that he wished to tell me something, but that before doing so he wished to know for certain that after having heard him I would not change my mind. I said he might depend upon it. Thereupon he told me that he had heard that a Havildar and others had made important confessions concerning the attempt on Colonel Phayre’s life, incriminating the Maharaja.

There was a pause ; Dadabhai was at this stage overcome by emotion. Evidently he was considering whether he would be doing the right thing in leaving Baroda when such a serious charge was hanging over the head of the Maharaja. He then got up from his chair and said he had been considering for some time what in the circumstances they should do. He had given Sir Lewis the assurance that he was going. As no Dewan was appointed, Dadabhai and his colleagues gave over charge to the Indian officers whose services had been lent by the British Government. They, too, had submitted their resignations but were instructed by Sir Lewis to remain at their posts.

On January 11, 1875, when Dadabhai and his assistants left for the station the Gaekwar, who professed to be very sorry and sick at heart, went with them and stood on the station platform. Till the moment of departure he went on persuading them to remain. They, however, took cordial leave of him, and he stood on the platform watching the train as it steamed slowly out of the station. The Maharaja then proceeded to his coach to return to the palace. As soon as he was seated, he smacked his thigh, as an expression of glee, and said to his attendants, with a smile, 'Now you have seen how I managed to get rid of that man !'

Benighted, purblind Prince ! He could not yet see the clouds that were gathering on the horizon. Dropping the pilot, who had steered the ship of the State through so many storms and shoals, was a matter of no concern to him ; nay, he returned home with a sense of relief ! On that very day there was a great movement of troops from Poona to Bombay. When Dadabhai and his party reached Bombay they saw a regiment despatched to the Maharaja's capital. Another followed the day after. Hearing of the arrival of the troops, Mulharao felt certain he was nearing a great crisis.

'What does this mean ? Do you know why these regiments are coming ?' he asked Dr. Palanji Pestonji, Dadabhai's medical adviser, the only man of Dadabhai's party who had remained behind because the Ranees of the Durbar would not let him go.

'I know nothing, Maharaj', replied Palanji.

‘I suspect mischief. You must send a telegram to Dadabhai to come at once. Ask him to bring Homi too’.

The message was promptly despatched. Dadabhai asked Wadya to see him on the following day to consider what to do. He had resigned the Dewanship; he would not go back as Dewan. But when the ill-starred Prince was in trouble and wanted him to be near him could he refuse to go as a friend in need?

Wadya took a carriage at once to go to Dadabhai’s house. Passing the *Times of India* office, he saw a big placard with the words ‘Arrest of Mulharao’ in bold type. He placed the sheet giving the news in Dadabhai’s hands, and said: ‘What is the use of our going now? Nemesis has overtaken the man’.

On the fateful day (January 14) when the Maharaja went to the Governor-General’s Agent to pay the customary visit, he was informed that a proclamation had been received to the effect that the Government of India had suspended him from power, pending the verdict of a Commission which was to be appointed shortly.

The most damning evidence against the Maharaja was that given by Damodar, his perfidious private secretary. He spoke in a very low tone, with eyes fixed on the floor. Counsel for the Prince, the famous British lawyer, Serjeant Ballantine, asked that he should be made to speak up and look the Maharaja in the face. The villain however, could not lift his eyes even for a single glance. When he had finished, Mulharao turned to Wadya and cried in anguish: ‘You all whom I have sinned against, you whom I cast off at the instigation of this wretch, you are now standing by me whereas this scoundrel, whom I considered my own, has conspired against me’.

The Commission was divided in opinion. Complicity in the attempt to poison Colonel Phayre could not be fastened on the Maharaja. Nevertheless the British government decided that he should be deposed on counts other than those which formed part of the indictment, namely, notorious misconduct and gross misgovernment. The arrangements were kept secret pending the orders of the Secretary of

State. When orders sanctioning the deposition and deportation of the ruler were received Mulharrao prayed that his infant son by Lakshmibai should be recognised as heir apparent. The request was refused. The widow of Khunderrao, Maha Ranee Saheb Jamnabai, was allowed to adopt a member of the Gaekwar family as his successor. Happily, she adopted one who, every inch a king, was destined to give a new life to Baroda, to change the face of its history, and to raise the name of Gaekwar from dust to its former glory, to wit Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar.

Mulharrao was taken secretly to the station yard and put in a special train, which was held there in readiness. On the same day (April 23) Wadya and Bal Mangesh were passing in a carriage through one of the streets of Baroda when, all of a sudden, the driver pulled up the reins to enable a man to throw a note into the vehicle. It was from the Maharaja, addressed in Marathi to Bal Mangesh :

They say they want to depose me. I asked that my son should be put on the throne. They refused. I gather that they want to send me to Madras. Do what you can for me.

Your sinful
MULHARRAO

At once both ran to the station. A special train was in readiness alongside. Seeing them, the Maharaja came out of his compartment on the corridor. 'Salaam!' he said in a low voice, 'I am going!' Then, with his fingers, he made several gestures, which they could not make out. One of his attendants, who happened to be there, explained to them that Sircar desired that they should write to Dadabhai. So the disconsolate man believed that if anyone could save him, or save the throne for his son, it was Dadabhai!

CHAPTER XV

IN THE CIVIC CHAMBER

DURING those tumultuous thirteen months in Baroda, Dadabhai had aged almost as many years. Was he down-hearted? Not at all. To be torn away from the scene of one's labours, just when one had laid the foundation and commenced rearing an edifice according to one's own design, must always be a matter for regret. Looking back, however, over those stirring days of his stewardship, Dadabhai must have felt that he had every reason to be proud of his achievements. The momentum he had given to the cause of good government had driven his successors irresistibly forward.

Dhadhai had to go, under medical advice, to Tithal, near Bulsar, for rest and change. Returning to Bombay, after about four months, he was usefully occupied in congenial pursuits. On July 26, 1875, he was elected a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay for the same area in which, fifty years ago, he was born. In the civic chamber he soon made his mark as a close student of municipal questions, endowed with an inexhaustible store of energy and an eye for precision. His knowledge of public finance, his proficiency in mathematics and skill in marshalling statistics were of immense value to the Corporation, where the capacity of most of the members to deal with figures stood very low indeed. Within three months, he was elected a member of the Town Council. The membership of the Council, the executive committee of the Corporation, carried with it an honorarium of thirty rupees for attendance at each meeting; but Dadabhai, who regarded civic service as a social obligation—the redemption of the debt he owed to society—informed the Municipal Secretary that he would not accept the fee.

The Bombay Municipality had taken a loan from Government for the construction of the Vihar Water Works. Dadabhai discovered that in calculating the instalment of princi-

pal and interest payable to Government the Accountant-General had resorted to a method of calculation that would have entailed an additional payment of fifty lakhs of rupees to Government. He submitted a long minute on the subject. The Accountant-General refused to admit that he had done anything in contravention of the provisions of the Municipal Act ; Dadabhai had to write more minutes to justify his calculations and contentions. Eventually, representations were made to Government, and, failing redress, to the Secretary of State for India. Before, however, the curtain was rung down on this controversy, Dadabhai resigned his office as a councillor (August 1876), as he had arranged to proceed to England to look after the business of his firm.

Dadabhai's compilations on the Vehar Loan question had astonished his colleagues. They were a marvel of civic enthusiasm and individual effort for the promotion of communal welfare. But there was another exhaustive minute written by him on a subject much more intricate and technical, which impressed them even more. The Water Department had proposed the construction of additional water works at a tremendous cost. To check the calculations regarding the daily supply of water to the city on which the demand for the additional supply was based, Dadabhai called for various particulars from the water Department. Receiving no reply, he sent a reminder; but no information was forthcoming because, it was explained later, there was no staff to collect the numerous details required. Nothing daunted, he proceeded to examine the problem independently of official statistics. Using his own calculations, and bringing to bear on them his amazing analytical faculty, he arrived at the conclusion that the departmental method of distribution of water was defective. After an examination of the whole question, he indicated how it could be arranged to give the city a constant supply of fourteen gallons per head. It was decided to submit this minute to departmental criticism. By the time the Municipal Commissioner's report on the subject was received, Dadabhai had relinquished his seat on the Council. When his resignation was placed before the Town Council and the

Corporation, a special vote of thanks was accorded to him. It was an exceptional honour.

At the time Dadabhai thought he had received the highest honour that it was in the power of the Corporation to confer on any member or on any citizen, but a still higher honour from the local parliament was in store for him—the address of welcome presented to him in 1894 on his return to his homeland after his election to the House of Commons.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONDITION OF INDIA

MEMORABLE as was Dadabhai's work as a Municipal Councillor during 1876, an even more important achievement of that year was his paper on the subject of the poverty of India, which he read before a crowded meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association. Two years later, the paper was published in London in pamphlet form—a prelude to the bulky volume that was to follow a quarter of a century later, under the title *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. Statistics were the backbone of his Paper, but Dadabhai made it perfectly clear that with imperfect material and without the means to employ a staff to work out all the details, he could give only approximate results.

After elaborate calculations, Dadabhai said he had clearly established that the value of the production of one of the best provinces in India was Rs 20 per head per annum and that this confirmed him in his previous contention that it was a liberal estimate for the total production per head of population.)

Next came under review statistics of imports and exports. From 1835 to 1872 India imported goods worth only about £943,000,000 against exports valued at £1,430,000,000, leaving balance of about £500,000,000. To drive his argument home to English people, Dadabhai held up before the audience the picture of England herself when she was a tributary to the Pope, as presented in Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe*. It resembled, in many ways, a picture of the state of India at the time.

(The country, urged Dadabhai, needed industrialization on a large scale. Industry was limited by capital. Where was the capital to come from? India was woefully deficient in that respect. What were the root causes of the insufficiency? The main cause being the drain of India's wealth to

England, she was entitled to supply of capital from her on easy terms for the development of her trade and industry.)

In spite of its incompleteness, Dadabhai's paper was the most illuminating document ever published on that most contentious problem of Indian economics. Its method of approach was rough and ready ; its manner of handling and sifting statistics all his own ; the process of reasoning and the principles adopted in arriving at conclusions were debatable. Nevertheless, his estimate of the national income was roughly as accurate as it could then have been, and the best corroboration of his calculations was the estimate given by Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer) and Sir David Barbour in the year 1882, namely Rs 27 per head. Despite the increase in agricultural and industrial output during the subsequent years, Lord Curzon's estimate in 1901 was only Rs 30.

(Ever since the establishment of the East India Association, Dadabhai's business interests had receded into the background. Towards the latter half of the year 1876, however, it became necessary for him to take active interest in business. From the voluminous correspondance carried on with his partners, until the year 1881, it appears that during this period he had to encounter many financial difficulties.)

Despite the daily pressure of work and difficulties, however, Dadabhai's thirst for knowledge and his zeal for research into the material condition of India remained unabated. In the midst of all his worries he was bent upon collecting encyclopaedic details about the salaries drawn by Englishmen since the days of the East India Company and asked his booksellers in England to send him numerous publications. There never was before a more avid buyer of Blue Books. Failing to get everything he wanted, he asked Dady Cama who looked after his business in England, to ask booksellers to make a diligent search for at least some of the old Reports and Budgets he wanted. Cama was buying for him cart-loads of official publications. After some time, Dadabhai began to collect the volumes of Hansard, whether as a preliminary study for a parliamentary career one cannot say, but the following extract from a

letter from Cama Brothers & Co., (June 1, 1883) is of special interest.

We have already purchased from Hansard complete volumes from the year 1844 to 1882. . . For years before 1844 Messrs King had a large number; these also we have secured for £40, so there are really now very few numbers wanting to make the whole complete.

Similarly, in India, the search for books, reports, returns and calendars was unending. For instance, the Madras University Calendar did not contain a complete list of under-graduates from the commencement of the University. Dadabhai applied to the Registrar of the University for it, but was told that there was no such list.

In H. M. Hyndman, the Socialist, Dadabhai found the most ardent student of Indian economics and a vehement critic of the British administration of India. They were in constant consultation with each other ever since Dadabhai had begun to bring to the knowledge of the British public the poverty of India. How the acquaintance began is graphically described by Hyndman himself in his *Reminiscences*.¹

I had finished my paper, and was about to send it off to the *Nineteenth Century*, feeling that I had not been able to put the statistcal part of it as clearly and convincingly as it should have been put, when I strolled into Messrs Kings, the Parliamentary booksellers, then in King Street, which has since been pulled down. . . As I left the shop, I noticed a booklet from which the cover had been torn, and the words 'The Poverty of India' in heavy block letters on a white ground started up at me. If the cover had remained, I certainly should not have noticed it. 'What is that?' I asked. 'Only a mass of figures', was the reply. I at once seized the little volume, and found that Mr Dadabhai Naoroji had therein placed at my disposal precisely the statistics about India which completed my own work.

Hyndman's indents on Dadabhai for statisttics, reports, and literature concerning Indian affairs were scarcely less

¹ *The Record of an Adventurous Life*, p. 175.

formidable than those of Dadabhai himself on the Government departments and booksellers and publishers. Both felt convinced that the authorities in India were working up to a hideous catastrophe; both were keenly alive to the need for propaganda; both constantly contributed informing and inspiring articles on the dry topics of Indian administration to newspapers and periodicals and circulated pamphlets in thousands. Both were agreed that there should be sustained clamour all over England and India; and Hyndman stirred up criticism even on the Continent.

In a letter dated January 28, 1882, Hyndman wrote :

‘My opinion is the same as Sir Louis Mallet’s. Nothing can be done for India and until we have a revolution here, the upper and middle classes will not listen and do not care. I am therefore striving to bring about a Revolution by peaceful means, if possible, but at the critical moment I should not shrink from force, if we were strong enough. The mass of the people here are in a deplorable state and worse, I sometimes think, than your starving *ryots* and famished labourers of Bombay and Madras—for they have at least the *Sun*... We are slowly working on a great upheaval here. When it comes, India will reap the benefit too... Honestly, the cause of India, by itself, has *gone back* with the upper and middle classes during the last year or two. With the working class it has made progress. To them and them only you must look for justice’.

Dadabhai wrote in reply : ‘If the labouring classes are moved, there is no doubt much good will be done. You have undertaken a very difficult task—a peaceful revolution—and I wish you heartily every success’.

The most notable correspondence of this period was carried on with Lord Hartington, Secretary of State for India.

The rulers boasted, and justly, that they had introduced education and Western civilization into India but, on the other hand, they acted ‘as if no such thing had taken place’.

‘We are made B.A.s and M.A.s and M.D.s, he said, ‘with the strange result that we are not yet considered fit

to teach our countrymen. In the case of former conquests, the invaders either retired with their plunder and booty or became the rulers of the country. When they only plundered and went back, they made, no doubt, great wounds ; but India, with her industry, revived and healed the wounds. When the invaders became the rulers of the country, they settled down *in* it, and whatever was the condition of their rule, there was at least no material or moral drain in the country. With the English, the case is peculiar. There are the great wounds of the first wars in the burden of the public debt, and those wounds are kept perpetually open and widening by draining away the lifeblood in a continuous stream. The former rulers were like butchers hacking here and there, but the English, with their scientific scalpel, cut to the very heart, and yet lo ! there is no wound to be seen, and soon the plaster of the high talk of civilization, progress, and what not covers up the wound !

If Britain's policy was bad, that of the previous conquerors had been worse. That, however, was no excuse for the injustice inflicted. 'If the British do not show themselves to be vastly superior in proportion to their superior enlightenment and civilization', urged Dadabhai, 'if India does not prosper and progress under them, there will be no justification for their existence in India'.

Then came words of anguish explaining why he was obliged to harp perpetually on that painful topic. 'It is no pleasure to me to dwell incessantly on the wretched, heart-rending, blood-boiling condition of India; none will rejoice more than myself if my views are proved to be mistaken. The sum-total of all is, that without any such intention or wish, and with every desire for the good of India, England has in reality been the most disastrous and destructive foreign invader of India. . . I am writing to English *gentlemen*, and I have no fear but that they will receive my sincere utterances with the generosity and love of justice of English gentlemen'.

The hopes for redress were, however, doomed to disappointment. Year in and year out, Dadabhai addressed

numerous audiences on that perennial theme. Before Committees and Commissions, before the House of Commons itself, he pleaded vehemently and continuously for twenty-five years for redress, but all to no purpose. Worse still, the bureaucrats in office were getting intolerant of the criticisms and warnings of loyal Indians such as Dadabhai. He therefore, decided to make another effort to bring to the notice of the world the misery of his hunger-stricken country and the evils of political subjection by publishing all his scattered papers and pamphlets, correspondence with State officials, evidence before Committees and Commissions, speeches and addresses on the subject, together with extracts from old State Papers, Statutes, and Proclamations.

The result was a somewhat chaotic compilation—a bulky book in a red cover containing nearly 700 pages of statements and speeches extending over a period of nearly thirty years, entitled *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. The title of this book reflected the change that had taken place in the sentiments of the author during that long interval. Constant disappointment had embittered his feelings. This most moderate among Indian publicists appeared to have been driven at last to resort to language marked by bitterness born of continued injustice. Not only were the ideals of British rule being steadily lowered but, it seemed to him, also the best traditions of British character were being wantonly tarnished. Opening with quotations from the Act of Parliament and Royal Proclamations from 1833 to 1877, he proceeded to demonstrate the truth of the statement made by Lord Lytton that 'both the Government of England and India' had taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear'.

f/ There were two sides of the book—the economic and the political. It was, in fact, an approach to politics through the door of economics. On the economic side were treated the topics of production and distribution, taxation, railways, foreign trade, prices, wages, currency and exchange, public debt and income, and the drain. On the political side it dealt with such subjects as the goal of British policy

in India, the admission of Indians to higher grades of the civil and military services, the relations of the Secretary of State for India and of the British Parliament with India, the question of representation of Indians in the Indian Legislature, the Indian States, and the possibility of a Russian invasion. On these issues Dadabhai had to say many unpleasant things. He was so overcome by a sense of repeated injustice that his usual sense of scrupulous fairness appeared to have been somewhat dimmed. On the whole, however, it was clear that while on the one hand the author found the policy of the rulers 'un-British and suicidal', on the other hand he was convinced that if true British rule were submitted for the pseudo-British system of government, which he deplored, the result would be 'a blessing to India and a glory to England, a result worthy of the foremost and most humane nation on the face of the earth'.

CHAPTER XVII

INAUGURATION OF A NEW ERA

By the end of the year 1881 Dadabhai's firm in London was closed. It did not, however, mean final break with business. It was arranged that he could carry on from Bombay the same business through the firm of the Camas. Returning, then, to his motherland, he found that the political atmosphere was more favourable than before. Lord Ripon had succeeded Lord Lytton as Viceroy of India. With his advent there was a change for the better in the administration of the country and in the spirit of the people.

In 1882 an Education Commission was appointed. Dadabhai submitted a statement of his views to the Commission. In it he marshalled statistics revealing the 'sad, sad tale' about India. 'Wretched as she was materially, still more wretched was she educationally.' 'What was the cause of 'this strange educational wretchedness of India?' We come back again'; he observed, 'as in every such question of India's wants, to its material and moral poverty'.

As regards remedy, he welcomed the two Resolutions of Lord Ripon's Government—one tending to the principle of spending the country's revenue with the voice of the people, and the other leading to the goal of saving to the people the produce of their Labour. The first laid down that 'the people should be taught and left to self-government'; the second ordered that stores should be purchased of local manufacturers. Let the Viceroy go one step further, urged Dadabhai, and enact, either in Parliament or in India, that like the dead stores the living stores also—all the services—should be supplied locally from the manufacturers of the Educational Institutions of the country, excepting, of course, the small supervising, guiding, and controlling agency.

In the year 1883 Dadabhai started a monthly journal, *The Voice of India*, with the object of securing a fair hearing and justice for India. Dadabhai, no doubt, was himself the Voice of India, but he recognized the need for reinforc-

ing that voice by that of others also. To give the British public a clear idea of the feelings and wishes of the Indian people as a whole, he arranged to publish monthly in Bombay a magazine somewhat similiar to *Public Opinion* in England. It provided a compendium of all that was valuable in the Indian journals on the leading topics of the day. It was not intended to advocate views of its own, but merely to reflect the opinions set forth in the Indian Press and to serve as an interpreter between the subjects and the rulers.

Dadabhai financed the journal for some years and B. M. Malabari managed and conducted it during his absence from India. From January 1, 1890, it was incorporated, for financial reasons, with the *Indian Spectator*, Malabari's famous weekly, which filled an important place in Indian journalism until his death in 1912.

Of all the Viceroys of India, Lord Ripon was unquestionably the most popular. His abounding affection for the people of India, his earnest desire to broaden the basis of their liberty, and his transparent sincerity earned for him the title 'Ripon the Righteous.' A public meeting was held under the auspices of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, on February 17, 1883, to memorialize the Queen-Empress for an extension of the term of his office so as to enable him to complete the work of reform in various departments of Government inaugurated during his administration. Dadabhai was the promoter of this meeting. What Lord Ripon was as a man, he said, was reflected in one of his speeches in which he had told his audience that his ambition was to rule India as a friend.

Soon afterwards another public meeting was held in Bombay (April 24, 1883) to support the Ilbert Bill, which had convulsed the European community in India. Under the criminal law of the land, as it stood in 1882, no Indian magistrate, however high his position, could inquire into any charge against a European British subject, whereas it was competent to his own subordinate, if he were a European, to do so. The object of the Bill was to remove this anomaly and to establish an equality before the law of all classes of the people. The introduction of the new

measure provoked an outburst of racial passion and virulent agitation on the part of the European community, never before witnessed in the history of India. The proclamations of the Crown laid down that there was to be no governing caste in India, but in practice, preferential treatment in respect of service, trade, industry, and even justice, had come to be regarded as the divine right of the governing race. The Bill was regarded by the Europeans resident in India as an audacious encroachment on that prerogative. The Viceroy was abused and vilified by them more than any apathetic or autocratic satrap had ever been denounced by Indians. In Calcutta they held a protest meeting in the Town Hall. A confederacy of blusterers had been formed, who, it was reported, bound themselves 'to overpower the sentries at Government House, to put the Viceroy on board a steamer at Chandpal Ghat, and to deport him to England!' The Bombay meeting was organized as a counterblast. Of this meeting, too, the moving spirit was Dadabhai.

A public meeting was also held in London at Willis's Rooms, St James's (August 1), in support of Ripon's 'Native Policy'. John Bright presided. In a spirited address he told his countrymen: 'India is not committed to our control to be held as a field for English ambition and for English greed.'

A year later, Lord Ripon laid down the reins of office. He had striven earnestly, despite opposition from within his Cabinet and from without, to remove some of the anomalies and inequities against which Dadabhai had raised his voice for more than thirty years. He had translated into action much that had been confined to mere declaration and had thereby revived the faith of the Indian people in British justice. He had, moreover, endeavoured to spread education among the masses, to improve their economic condition, to protect the country from attempts to saddle it with expenditure incurred outside India, to place Indians on a footing of equality with their British fellow-subjects, to improve the intellectual advancement of the people generally, and to train them in the art of local self-government. Speaking at the Town Hall in Bombay,

on November 29, 1884, on the principal resolution appreciating the eminent services rendered by Lord Ripon, Dadabhai observed that 'the first great achievement of the Ripon Government was a courageous candid acknowledgment that the material and educational condition of India was that of extreme poverty. He had laid the foundation of the remedy by resolving that Indian energy, Indian resources, and Indian agency must be developed in every way and in all departments with broad and equal justice to all'.

By far the best service rendered by Lord Ripon was to England and Englishmen. He had raised the name and glory of England and Englishmen, and confirmed India's loyalty to the British rule.

Dadabhai's labours did not end with that meeting. He presided over another held under the auspices of the Arya Dhyanwardhak Sabha on December 22 at Halai Bhattya Mahajan Wadi, Bombay, and worked zealously to collect funds for the proposed memorial. The correspondence for the year 1885 includes numerous appeals made to individuals and officials of Indian States, all in his own handwriting, for liberal donations.

Some other activities of this period may now be briefly mentioned. At the general municipal elections, held in 1883, Dadabhai was elected a member of the Corporation. From that time until the year 1886 when he left for England his contribution to civic work was memorable.

One of the first fruits of the awakening caused by the Ilbert Bill agitation was the Bombay Presidency Association. The Bombay Association, founded in the year 1852, had ceased to function. Even the Bombay Branch of the East India Association had outlived its utility. In the absence of Dadabhai the Association had deteriorated; it lacked not only its former vigour but also the warmth of its feeling for India. In the circumstances the Bombay Branch, being subordinate to the parent organization, could scarcely be expected to fight India's battles as before. During Lord Ripon's sympathetic regime, however, there had been a great awakening; Indian opinion had been stirred to its depth and it had acquired a weight and power

rarely accorded to it before. The leaders of the Indian community decided to establish another virile political association. A public meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay was held on January 31, 1885, at the Framji Cowasji Institute, where the Bombay Presidency Association was formally inaugurated. Dadabhai was elected one of the Vice-Presidents, 'I look forward to the day', said Pheroze-shah Mehta, 'when the younger generation would produce men like Dadabhai Naoroji.'

In August 1885 an invitation came to Dadabhai from Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, to join the Bombay Legislative Council as an additional member, Dadabhai accepted the office. In September 1885 the *Indian Mirror* welcomed the News that Dadabhai contemplated standing as a candidate for a seat in the house of Commons. Until March, 1886, however, very little was heard of the stirring of Dadabhai's mind in this matter. In the meanwhile, it fell to his lot to be actively associated with the inauguration of two important organizations. One was the Bombay Ratepayers Association, established at a public meeting held under his presidency, to obtain redress for the civic grievances of the people. The other, by far the most important with which his name has been associated, was the Indian National Congress.

Dadabhai was one of the moving spirits. Of the founders the most conspicuous was A.O. Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service but an ardent and active supporter of India's struggle for freedom. At the first Congress, which held its sittings in Bombay in December 1885, Dadabhai took an active part. In almost all the resolutions adopted at that session one could easily discern his hand, particularly in the very first proposition, which approved of the promised committee of inquiry into the working of the Indian administration. One of the resolutions, praying for simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service, was moved by him.

CHAPTER XVIII

IN SEARCH OF A CONSTITUENCY

ON March 13, 1886, the *Hindu* of Madras (then a tri-weekly) announced that Dhadabhai intended to leave Bombay for England with a view to standing 'as a candidate for election to Parliament on behalf of some constituency.' As an authority on Indian economics, the paper observed, there was none equal to him in all India. The Calcutta papers were equally enthusiastic.

It seems Dadabhai had been in communication with his friends in England for some time to ascertain whether any constituency would be willing to accept him as a candidate. It was, however, so far, a mere phantasm. Dadabhai was in no way sanguine of finding a constituency; but he thought, even if he failed to get into parliament, there would be much scope for solid work to be done in England on behalf of India.

From the Journal kept by him for the next three months, it appears that he had taken several letters of introduction to persons who could assist him in the matter.

April 15. Called at Dr R. Congreve's¹. . . He thought the connexion between England and India should be severed; it was injuring England: it was doing harm to the whole English character. The connexion with the Colonies was a weakness.

April 16. Mr Wood and myself went to Mr Wyllie² at the National Liberal Association. He would put my name on the list of available candidates and asked me to give a short account of myself.

April 17. Went with Mr Martin Wood to see Mr Bright who received me kindly. Had a long conversation with him; he explained that the constituencies wanted either local men or men of distinction.

¹ Richard Congreve, Positivist, and political and historical writer.

² F. R. S. Wyllie, one of the most influential members of the Association.

April 19. Saw Mr Digby¹ . . . He over and over again repeated that now that I had come, be the result about my object what it may, he will be able to work for India, with more heart and zeal.

April 20. Went to Mr. Hyndman. He was of opinion that we should be able to convince the general English public, the working man particularly, that the reforms that I advanced would be far more beneficial to the English nation, particularly to the working man . . . If India is prosperous and rich, she would buy far more English produce and give work proportionately to the working man. Mrs Hyndman joined earnestly in the conversation, she put the question to Mr Hyndman, what he was going to do, and said of course he meant to work below the surface and not above the surface, for in my case that would be the better way. Mr Hyndman thought so too.

April 27. A letter from Mr Slagg. Very little chance of obtaining a seat at a bye-election. But a general election could not be very far off and then I ought to have a good chance of finding a seat . . . He knows every constituency and its circumstances throughout the Kingdom. Offers a letter of introduction. There is much sympathy now with India here. The presence of a few good representatives in the House would do more than years of talking by English Reformers who are simply abused and vilified by the official clique as representing nobody.

April 29. Saw Mr Digby. He strongly recommended my changing the headdress to an English hat. Better to appear altogether like an Englishman. He said he intended to get me a ticket to the Conference of the Liberal Association in favour of the Irish Bill. I asked whether it would be desirable that I should speak on the Irish subject at some place. He said it would be a good thing to do.

May 3. Saw Mr Hyndman. He said he would like to dedicate his republication of his articles on the Bankruptcy of India to me, to express his sentiments regarding

¹ William Digby, who was subsequently a close collaborator with Dadabhai in the cause of India and wrote *Prosperous British India*.

me, as having done most for India, and that this might bring me into notice. I thanked him, but valuing as I did the honour, I thought it would not be discreet; as he was under a cloud with the upper classes and the Press, it might do harm to my cause.

May 4. Saw Mr R. T. Reid... He suggested that, as a beginning, it would be very good if I could give an address on the chief wants of India before some influential Liberal centre such as Birmingham or Leeds. That an address like that... will make me known, that other Liberal centres could then invite me also, and that the forthcoming of a constituency will be naturally and in time developed. He offered to write to Birmingham at once, if I liked. I accepted the offer at once...

The journal for the next four weeks contains copious notes of visits to numerous other friends and statesmen, and of lunches, dinners and teas, and conferences at places such as Kensington Palace, Northbrook Club, Reform Club, the Athenaeum, and the East India Association, at almost all of which Dadabhai was invited to speak. There were clear indications that the little-known visitor was gaining ground as he got about.

Of the constituencies Holborn seemed most promising. On June 18 Dadabhai met the Executive Committee of the Liberal Association of Holborn. The result is thus briefly noted in the journal: 'After some conversation they passed a resolution, while I was sitting for a few minutes in another room, that I was unanimously accepted as their candidate'.

On the same day the members of the Holborn Liberal Association received a letter from the Secretary intimating that the Executive had been 'so fortunate as to have introduced to them the Honourable Dadabhai Naoroji, who, from his lengthened residence in England and the great interest which he had always taken in Indian and English political life, was highly qualified to represent any constituency as well as to advocate the special interest of India'.

CHAPTER XIX

HOLBORN AND AFTER

HOLBORN was no choice, but a necessity. The electorate being strongly Conservative and decidedly against the policy underlying the Irish Bill, there was not a ray of hope for anyone contesting the Borough as a Liberal candidate, particularly for one who emphatically declared Home Rule to be the Golden Rule. Even some of the personal friends of Dadabhai found it difficult to lend him their support. For instance, George Birdwood said that he was all for Chamberlian—and dead against Mr Gladstone and his supporters. He would have preferred that Dadabhai should have been helped to a seat where there would have been no contest, and with regard to which he would not have been forced to take a decided line in English party politics. ‘Let me know how the contest in Holborn stands’, he added, ‘whom you are opposing—whether a L., a U., or a C., and then I will try my best to help you; for I would give anything to see you succeed, although I would not like to do anything that would augment the Gladstonian Camp’.

Dadabhai, of course, knew, as did his friends, that he was leading a forlorn hope, but prepared as he was for defeat, he could not at that stage look back. Fortunately for him, there were a few friends who shared his optimism. It would, they thought, be something, even if he failed. That, put in a nutshell, was the issue before Dadabhai—something was better than nothing, and that something was worth coveting.

Whatever might have been the colour of Holborn politics, Dadabhai boldly put Irish autonomy in the forefront of his appeal to the electorate, which he issued from his residence at Hogarth Road, South Kensington, immediately after his adoption as a candidate for the Borough. Announcing his Liberal creed, he declared his determination to support the great measures of social reform, including a change in the Land Laws affecting dwellers in town and country, which

had been announced by the great Leader of the Party. 'Upon the momentous issue before the electors,' he added, 'I am at one with Mr. Gladstone in his noble-hearted and heroic effort to satisfy the just aspirations of the Irish people to control their own affairs, while yet remaining a part of the British Empire'.

There was a great meeting at the Town Hall of Holborn on June 24. James Bryce, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, paid a glowing tribute to Dadabhai, whom he described as having character to enforce his views and capacity to express them. He had hardly spoken for two minutes when Dadabhai appeared to hold his audience by his straight-forward statements and simple eloquence.

An eye-witness described Dadabhai's Political debut in these terms :

If Mr Naoroji had changed his name to Mr Brown or Mr Jones no one would know him to be a Parsee. But Naoroji is a puzzler for the British elector . . . has the appearance and the manner of a cultivated English gentleman, his face a shade or two off colour, perhaps, but certainly not darker than many an Australian, tanned from long exposure to tropical suns. If physiognomy be any indication of intellectual merits, Mr. Naoroji is shrewd and penetrating, with a large leaven of benevolence . . . His ample beard and moustache are plentifully sprinkled with white. The regulation frock coat fits him like a glove, and a better platform figure it would be difficult to find. His mastery of our language is marvellous in its fitness and its fluency.

Enthusiasm was sustained by lively meetings till the day of the election, but things did not look well for the Gladstonians. It was a tough fight and a gallant fight, but, as apprehended, it ended in Dadabhai's defeat. His Conservative opponent had everything on his side—personal influence and wealth, the strong Tory character of the constituency, the antipathy of Englishmen generally to the Home Rule policy of Gladstone, and above all, a split in the Liberal camp. Nevertheless, the Gladstonian Liberal secured as many as 1,950 votes against 3,651 cast in favour of Colonel Duncan. He had made the best of a forlorn hope. The

result inspired hopes of success at a subsequent election.

'Just got Reuter's mentioning your defeat', ran a message from Malabari. 'It does not matter. For in spite of all our enthusiasm we were prepared more for this than any other result'. Expressing a fervent hope for his success at the next election, he advised his friend: 'Try to cultivate the better class of Conservative politicians. Your speech at Holborn does not preclude you from this'.

Dadabhai lost not a moment in resuming the fight. On the very day of the declaration of his glorious defeat commenced his second and more superb struggle, which was to end, six years later, in a victory. In a letter to Lord Ripon (July 7) he wrote: I had reasonable chances of success, but we now find that the split among the Liberals was far deeper than we had anticipated. I hope, after what I have done in the short space of 9 days, your Lordship and the party will help me to a good seat.

While Dadabhai was thus busy preparing for the next contest, some of his friends in India keenly felt his want in his own country, where they thought he could more usefully occupy himself in active patriotic service. Malabari thought so too and wrote (August 31):

In the Legislative Council we want a strong man. I don't like the ring of recent discussions therein. Your presence is thus every way necessary. On the other hand, I know it is grievous to call you out now. Even outside Parliament you can do more than anybody or many other bodies put together... But the trouble is we are unable to help you in the good cause without your being here helping us to help to the country. There is no organization without you here. All things considered, I think you better return by November or December. This will enable you to preside at the National Congress, Bengal, which you *must do*. Come here, kick up organizations, collect materials and go again, if you like.

Towards the closing days of the year 1886 Dadabhai received a call from India to attend the second session of the Indian National Congress. Dadabhai went to Calcutta during Christmas week and was elected President. His Presidential Address was remarkable for its tone of moderation and

restraint. 'What is it for which we are now met ? he asked. 'Is this Congress a nursery for sedition and rebellion against the British Government (*cries of 'No ! No !*) or is it another stone in the foundation of the stability of that Government ? (*cries of Yes ! Yes !*) . . . Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone'.

It was only natural that Dadabhai should refer, in this address, to the question of representation of India in Parliament :

Not one single genuine Indian voice is there in Parliament to tell at least what the Indian view is on any question. This was most forcibly urged upon me by English gentlemen, who are in Parliament themselves ; they said they always felt it to be a great defect in Parliament, that it did not contain one single genuine representative of the people of India.

This session of the Congress was notable for the scheme of Council Reform adumbrated under the guidance of Dadabhai as President. After this, there was a recurring demand at each Congress session that Indians should be allowed, through their elected representatives, a voice in the Legislatures. After having attended the Congress session at Bombay in 1889, Charles Bradlaugh, 'the protagonist of lost causes' and 'the friend and champion of India', introduced a Bill in the House of Commons for constitutional reform. Viscount Cross, then Secretary of State for India, however offered to bring in a Bill of his own during the following year. Bradlaugh withdrew his Bill, but he did not live to see Lord Cross's promised Bill, which ultimately became Act of 1892. Compared with Bradlaugh's Bill, it was a greatly emasculated measure. The so-called right of election conferred, under it, on the Local Bodies and other electorates, was subject to acceptance by Government. The artillery of the Congress was, therefore, directed on such provisions of the Act and the defects of the regulations framed under it.

The next most important service rendered by Dadabhai during this visit to India was the evidence he gave before the Public Service Commission, which was then sitting in

Bombay. He had agitated for years for such an inquiry ; and just before he gave the evidence he had published in England a paper on the question, The ready response from Government was hailed by him as a proof of the sincerity of the desire of the rulers to do something at least towards the removal of a great wrong.

In his evidence Dadabhai stressed the demand for holding simultaneous examinations in England and India, the standard and tests of qualifications, pay, leave, and pension allowances being alike for all candidates. Any proposal to fix a portion of the service to be allotted to Indians would, he submitted, violate the fundamental principle of the Act of 1833 and of the Proclamation of 1858. Should, however, Government be not prepared to do full justice Government might provide that until further experience was obtained 25 or 50 percent of the successful candidates should be English. The main grievance, he said, was the requirement of temporary residence in England precedent to first competition.

Witness after witness supported Dadabhai in his demand. Concerted opposition, however, came from a section of his own fellow-countrymen, Muslims, who feared that an examination held in India would lead to a preponderance of Hindus in the Civil Service to the detriment of the interests of their own community.

With the greatest chagrin Dadabhai learnt, after he returned to London, that his friend Kazi Shabuddin had also joined in the opposition. Only on July 15, 1887, he wrote to kazi in anguish :

How your action has paralysed not only our own efforts, but the hands of our English friends, and how keenly I feel this, more so because you have based your action on selfish interests, that because the Muslims are backward, therefore you would not allow the Hindus and all India to go forward. What a blight you have thrown upon our future and how you have retarded our progress for a long time to come !

CHAPTER XX

MEMBER FOR FINSBURY

BACK to England, Dadabhai was busy reconnoitring the battlefield. Of all the constituencies suggested to him, he considered Central Finsbury the most promising. In a letter to Malabari (March 2, 1887), he wrote: 'This week I had pretty good work in canvassing the executive of a particular constituency—Central finsbury'. A week later, he informed his friend that there seemed to be good chances of success. He had impressed on everyone that he was a Home Ruler, one who would work actively for the cause. He was also desirous of getting certain measures for reform in the administration of India passed in Parliament.

How things were moving in his favour his family learnt from a letter from Fram Dadina, who was then a student at Cambridge, to Maki Dadabhai:

Your dear Pa has just passed his Previous Examination in politics. Just fancy the idea of an old man of 62 going in for such labour! You will know more about it in a fortnight.

The interesting story of the 'examination' begins with the resignation submitted in march 1888 by the Hon. Howard Spensley, candidate for Central Finsbury. The General Council of the Liberal and Radical Association for the division asked its Executive Committee to submit the names of four gentlemen for the selection of a candidate to fill the vacant position. Out of thirteen candidates in the last ballot Dadabhai was the first of the four selected. On the following day, the Secretary to the Association wrote to Dadabhai: 'Please allow me to congratulate you. The voting last night was as follows: Mr Naoroji 49, Mr Eve 45, Mr Ford 23, and Mr Dodd 7'. It was a proud moment in Dadabhai's life. The very next day, however, when he saw the Secretary, he was informed that requisition for another meeting was being signed

A fresh meeting was called by the local authorities for September 3. Dadabhai declined to go to that meeting, contending that the Council had no right to interfere with the decisive vote of August 15. An attempt was made to impress upon Dadabhai that those who had suggested arbitration believed he was not strong enough to win the seat. But weak or strong, he was determined to go to the poll, defying threats of opposition from opponents and desertation by friends, defying every obstacle. He paid house-to-house visits to the electors, attended ward meetings, gave numerous talks and lectures, presided at or addressed political meetings, social gatherings, soirées, attended exhibitions, concerts, performances in aid of charities, and kept himself constantly before the eyes of the electorate. The more he came in contact with the voters, better was he understood. At every ward meeting admiring audiences passed resolution after resolution, pledging support to him at the election.

Such support was, however, nothing compared with that given unwittingly by Lord Salisbury. One night Dadabhai went to bed, still a nameless figure in the world of British politics, and woke to find himself famous. In his notorious Edinburgh speech on November 30, to explain why the Conservative majority in the latest Holborn contest had dwindled, the premier of England indulged in language reminiscent of that used by slave-owners to coloured people.

However great the progress of mankind has been, and however far we have advanced in overcoming prejudices, I doubt if we have yet got to that point of view where a British constituency would elect a black man.

The audience shouted 'shame', and cheered the speaker, little dreaming that the mud flung at the eminent Indian was to bespatter the noble Lord himself.

I am speaking roughly, continued Lord Salisbury, and using language in its colloquial sense, because I imagine the colour is not exactly black, but, at all events, he was a man of another race.

Those two words—BLACK MAN—simply kicked Dadabhai into fame. The name of the hitherto little-known Indian,

difficult of articulation as it had so far been, was within twenty-four hours on the lips of everyone throughout the United Kingdom ! Wide of any applicability to him those words caused Dadabhai not the least annoyance ; on the contrary, he regarded such an attack as a blessing in disguise. To the whole of India, however, the impudent allusion to racial difference gave great offence ; It was resented also in Liberal circles. The Gladstonians lost not a moment in turning it to political account. The British public too, as a whole, appeared to have been shocked by the maladroit attack of the Premier. It was not an ordinary partisan indulging in a sneer on a political platform. It was the Prime Minister of England, who was expected to remember, even in the excitement of an election campaign, that it was his duty, more than that of any other British subject, to cement by his personal example of courtesy and sympathy the ties of loyalty and attachment between England and the countries owing allegiance to the British Crown. Even his own friends, therefore, stood aghast at his words. The British friends of Dadabhai, who had regarded him as no less than an Englishman during his prolonged residence in England, felt impelled to tell Lord Salisbury that Dadabhai's skin was little darker than his own. In fact in commending him to the Liberal Association of Holborn, William Digby had attempted to forestall objection to the selection of Dadabhai on racial grounds in his letter to the Liberal Association (February 16, 1888).

Mr Naoroji is to all intents and purposes an Englishman as well as an English subject. His long residence in this country and his thorough mastery of our tongue, added to his English appearance, take away any objection which might occur (all other things being satisfactory) to his not being an Englishman.

It was an Indian of such outstanding reputation whom the petty-minded peer had tried to disparage. Little did he dream that his offensive words would be flung in his teeth from the Solway to the Severn.

The first to fall on Salisbury was John Morley. At a Liberal and Radical demonstration he reminded the audi-

ence that he had remarked a year ago that when Lord Salisbury made a speech, that speech was sure to contain at least one blazing indiscretion. His friends would hardly deny that the speech in which his Lordship had endeavoured to explain the Holborn election contained a very blazing indiscretion. Now that was no vulgar Jingo of the street. 'It was', he said, 'the Prime Minister. It was the man who spoke in the name of the people of England from his position, and it was the fault of London that Salisbury held the position he did'.

Speaking at Limehouse Town Hall, Gladstone asked the audience to look across the sea, where their responsibilities were great. He was referring to the expression used by the Prime minister which had given deep offence to many millions of their fellow-countrymen in India. Having committed that fault should he not have offered an apology?

Such wars of words are no criterion to the real feeling of the populace, but the numerous letters that poured in, from Englishmen from all parts of the country, from friends and strangers alike, emphatically expressing their abhorrence of the language used by the Premier and their wish to see Dadabhai enter Parliament, established clearly that he had been placed prominently before the English public by Lord Salisbury's sneer. In a way, it was also a matter for congratulation that this incident brought into play the better emotions of the English people and awakened in them a sense of reality of the unity of their Empire.

For the next few weeks 'Salisbury's Black Man' was flooded with invitations to teas and luncheons and dinners, the most notable being the banquet given by the members of the National Liberal Club on January 21, 1889, to mark their disapproval of Lord Salisbury's intolerant language. Lord Ripon proposed the health of the guest of the evening.

Frederic Harrison proposed 'The Unity of the Empire' and W. Hunter, 'Our Fellow-subjects in India'. Thus were sentiments of common citizenship, and of membership of one polity, with a common system of education and civilization, stimulated from different platforms and different

forums, bringing to Dadabhai support from many an unexpected quarter.

The consideration uppermost in the minds of the Party officials was how the seat could be won. Without a united Party the seat could not have been regained and the party could not have been united unless the rival candidates had consented to arbitration. Dadabhai however, held that the acceptance of such a proposal would be a cowardly and suicidal act. The breach thereupon grew wider and the struggle harder.

The direction of affairs in the Liberal Party then passed into Lord Ripon's hands. He endeavoured to get Ford out of the contest ; on the other hand the officials of the party pressed him to persuade Dadabhai to agree to arbitration. Lord Ripon thought the best solution of the difficulty lay in finding another constituency for Dadabhai. Dadabhai had, however chosen his course and he adhered to it. In a statement to the electors he expressed the hope that they would after his explanation give him 'justice and fair play'.

To cut a long story short, at last, Dadabhai was left the sole Liberal and Radical candidate. Gladstone, Rosebery, Ripon, and Reay were amongst the earliest friends to convey to Dadabhai their gratification that the split in Central Finsbury had been healed and that he had been accepted as the Liberal candidate for the constituency.

The electors went to the polling booth, on July 6, and, despite all frantic efforts to stir up racial prejudice, recorded a majority of three votes in Dadabhai's favour. He secured 2,959 votes, his opponent, Captain F. T. Penton, 2,956 – a very narrow majority. The announcement of the voting was received with a tumult of applause by the multitude that had assembled near the National Liberal Club. The sky was rent with cheers for 'Salisbury's Black Man'.

Dadabhai had now reached the pinnacle of his fame. All the world thought highly of his qualities, but how little does the world usually know of the inner mysteries of electioneering? Much less did it know of the numerous obstacles with which the path of the hero of this election had been

strewn; otherwise its admiration of his marvellous faculties and power of endurance and strength would have been infinitely greater.

For weeks together the first Indian M.P. was deluged with torrents of congratulations from friends as well as strangers from the four quarters of the globe. The enthusiasm in England was almost as great as in India. Speaking at a banquet, on July 23, at the Holborn Restaurant, in celebration of the event, Dadabhai gratefully referred to that pleasing feature of the election. 'If one were to judge from the numbers of telegrams and letters I receive from English ladies and gentlemen in different parts of the United Kingdom', he said, 'we would suppose that the English people were rejoicing over something that had happened to themselves'.

Almost as much as Dadabhai was Central Finsbury overwhelmed by messages of thanks from all parts of India. The whole country was moved by feelings of the deepest gratitude to the English constituency that had returned an Indian to the imperial Parliament. Such a thing was possible only in a free country like England. The electors had shown that the instincts of political freedom and the fairness of the British public had triumphed. They had given a concrete illustration of the elasticity of the British Constitution and demonstrated, better than official declarations, the equality of British citizens, wherever born and brought up. To the romance of Indian History was thus added a thrilling chapter. Hitherto, a Bright, a Fawcett, a Bradlaugh, or a Caine had strenuously advocated the cause of India on the floor of the House of Commons. Now their mantle had fallen on a son of the soil, endowed with all the qualities and equipped with all the knowledge required to plead on behalf of his motherland at the bar of that august Assembly.

CHAPTER XXI

HIS DAILY THOUGHT—INDIA

ELECTION to Parliament was after all only a means to an end; welfare of India was Dadabhai's daily thought. How to bring home to Englishmen the truth about India's pitiable condition, what to do to impress upon British statesmen the gravity of the situation, was his concern during all the stress and strain of the seven year's electoral campaign. The British public was ready to learn and begining to understand, but from that to movement and action was still a long way.

In its early days the East India Association afforded a good platform to stir up criticism and to create a strong impression on the authorities in England. But its direction had gradually passed into the hands of people with not the same enthusiasm for Indian reform. Dadabhai therefore turned to some personal friends in the House of Commons for help in carrying on a crusade on behalf of India. Of these, the most ardent and active were William Wedderburn, W.S. Caine, and Samuel Smith. Hyndman, though not in the House, was no less helpful than Caine or Samuel Smith. He, however, differed from Dadabhai as regards ways and means. The situation in India appeared to him to be even more desperate than to Dadabhai. There was a growing feeling among people of his way of thinking that both England and India were on the verge of a serious crisis. It seemed to them that the only hope lay in a general shock. When Dadabhai was in India in the year 1884, there was a constant interchange of views on current politics between the two friends. In one of the letters Hyndman said :

I always told you that little could be done for India until we had a revolution here. That revolution I have been steadily preparing for and we Socialists are now the only growing party in England. Throughout the country, especially in the great industrial centres, we have little

knots of earnest, enthusiastic men. We have resolved to take up the Indian question and to work it thoroughly so far as we can.

Hyndman's talk of a revolution did not seem to have evoked any enthusiasm in the Indian patriot to whom constitutionalism was the very breath of life. His mind was at that moment greatly agitated by the outrageous conduct of the European community in India towards Lord Ripon and its open hostility to Indians ; unburdening his mind on that incident he treated the Irish rebel to a sermon on moderation ! In another letter he asked Hyndman to see what we do in regard to the question of the services and the drain. Hyndman accordingly kept hammering away, whenever he got a chance, but he could never reconcile himself to Dadabhai's modest methods of asserting India's claims. 'The time has gone for imploring, if ever it existed'. He would like to see 'a great stir'.

From Martin Wood, Dadabhai received helpful suggestions from time to time. Writing from Beaumont Crescent, London (January 22, 1885), on the question of the poverty of India, this ever helpful friend wrote : 'Depend upon it, nothing is needed so much as to convince the English public and especially our Radical friends of the great money value of India to England'.

After the inauguration of the Indian National Congress, India and Congress were indissolubly associated in Dadabhai's daily thought. He spoke about them as though they were synonymous terms. What was good for one was good for the other : what did harm to one harmed the other too. The voluminous correspondence that he carried on during this period with his colleagues and others bears ample testimony to his deep and abiding devotion to the work of this national organization and constant and touching concern for its growth and stability. Indeed, whilst perusing his letters, written during the stirring days of electioneering, one wonders which was uppermost in his mind—election or Congress. Not a week passed without letters and clippings from journals pouring in from India, giving him the minutest particulars concerning the infant institution, or without letters going out from him to various friends in

India containing his views, suggestions, and exhortations to save it from harm and to insure its healthy growth. Scarcely a day passed when he was not speaking or writing to British friends, sending articles to newspapers, or addressing British audiences about the Congress, which he introduced to them as 'the child of the British rule'. These epistles give one an idea of the burning passion of the man for his country and of his daily thought, daily conversation, and daily plans for freeing his motherland from her state of subjection. Incidentally they call to mind several obscure but interesting episodes in the early history of the Congress.

Dadabhai to Malabari

January 30, 1887

Sir W. Hunter intends to write to disprove the statement that Mahomedans do not join the Congress. *The Times* correspondent from *Calcutta* grossly misrepresents everything. . . The Congress is exciting much interest here.

How keen such interest was could be seen from letters received by Dadabhai concerning the proceedings of the Calcutta Congress over which he had presided.

Sir John Budd Phear¹ to Dadabhai

July, 7, 1887

I wish very much that I could have been personally present at this great national gathering. The event is most significant and instructive, and I trust that the lessons deducible from it will be rightly apprehended and understood by the governing classes in this country. As to this however, I am not very sanguine. Those whose influence is at this time paramount in controlling the Government are the Jingo classes of the people, admirers of liberty and right in all wherein they are themselves concerned, but ever ready to over-ride and assert authority whenever their own will is disputed by those over whom they are able to domineer. The cause of the people must prevail ultimately ; and the sooner our home democraey learns its power and exercises it, the better will it be for at least the Indian portion of the Empire.

¹ Retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court, Author of *The Aryan Village*.

G. J. Day to Dadabhai

August 16, 1887

It is extremely difficult in Indian affairs to know how far to encourage volunteering ; it would be most disastrous to England to find a fresh Indian Mutiny spring up and, at the same time, it is most illiberal to prevent by force a people fit to govern themselves from so doing.

The Rev. Fred. Trestrail to Dadabhai

January 3, 1888

The enthusiasm so manifest astonished me. A people hitherto so quite and impassive to be roused to such energy seems like life from death . . . I trust this grand debate will put to shame those English residents in India who are so apt to treat her people with scorn and contempt.

Within a short time a cousin of Hume, Robert Muller, M.D., Surgeon-Major on the Retired List of the Bombay Army, became a supporter of the Congress. In a letter to Fram Desai, December 3, he wrote :

Will you please tell your uncle (Dadabhai) that I am the 2nd cousin of Mr Allan Octavian Hume, C.B. (late Secretary to the Government of India in the Agricultural Department),—that *if there be an Englishman more than another* who considers the Government of India to be 'a Despotism'—*I am that man !* And if he will please to *send me all the papers connected with the movement, he may find me to be one of the most energetic supporters of the movement.*

Dadabhai to Hume

January 5, 1888

It is desirable that Native States should be allowed to take an interest in, and help the Congress and even, if they choose, to find delegates. . . A solidarity of this kind between all the people of India is a thing to be desired.

Dadabhai to Wacha

February 9, 1888

My stay with Sir W. Hunter has been of some good in that he has seen more clearly than before the necessity of larger admission of natives into the Services.

Dadabhai to Malabari

April 18, 1888

I hope Mr Hume will be able to bring round Syed Ahmed and prevent the oppositon to the Congress. The disunion among ourselves will do us very great harm. Here, interest in India is growing gradually, but this split will check it very much.

What was the opposition to the Congress and what sort of a split was it that it had become a regular nightmare to Dadabhai? During the year 1888 there was an outbreak of anti-Congress fever of a virulent type throughout India among the Anglo-Indian and Muslim communities. Dadabhai was referring to that almost forgotten chapter in the early history of the Congress. If Allan Hume might be called the father of Congress, the Marquis of Dufferin was the god-father. Not only did he, as Viceroy of India, welcome its formation, but he also advised Hume not to restrict its scope to agitation on the social side of Indian life, as was Hume's original idea, but to widen its scope and definitely to aim at the potitical education of the people. He even went so far as to recognize the movement by inviting the Delegates to the Second Congress, held in the following year in Calcutta, as distinguished guests to a garden party at Government House. His example was followed by Lord Connemara, the Governor of Madras, at the time of the third Congress. There were other provincial Governors, such as Lord Reay in Bombay, and many officials, who also approved of the idea of having a sort of constitutional opposition to the Government of the day.

Soon after the Madras Congress, however, the bureaucracy fell foul of the movement. The growth of the infant Hercules had alarmed officialdom. To the Anglo-Indian community also it seemed to spell subversion of the established order of things, and some Parsis and Muslims, too took fright at the outcry that the Congress aimed at the substitution of Hindu for British *raj*.

The worst 'crime' of the Congress however, was the agitation carried on in England by Dadabhai, in the name

of the Congress, on behalf of the people of India. He had succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and support of a man like William Hunter in the Congress cause. He had openly declared that the political forces represented by the Congress were so great that the British Government, if it sought to thwart them, would break itself in the attempt. Dadabhai's daily distribution of Congress literature and his daily appeal to the strong sentiments and cherished principles of justice inherent in the English race considerably influenced English opinion in favour of the national movement. For Anglo-India that was the most disastrous phase of the agitation. Already, no less an authority than Gladstone had declared that the capital agent in finally determining the question whether the British power in India was or was not to continue, would be the will of the 240 millions of people who inhabited the country. 'It would not do for us', he warned his countrymen, 'to treat with contempt, or even with indifference, the rising aspirations of this great people'.

Dadabhai had been constantly reminding his friends in India that the power to introduce reforms was entirely in the hands of the British people and the British Government, and asking them to send frequent delegations to England to convince the British people that the Congress demands were just and fair. He was equally enthusiastic in inducting British statesmen to go out in large numbers to India, to make the acquaintance of Indians, to study their character, to learn their aspirations, to show sympathy for their just demands, and to prove by their own example that the British conscience was still as sound as ever.

Following his advice, the Congress executive in India sent to England, during the summer of 1890, a delegation consisting of Surendranath Banerjea, R. N. Mudholkar, Allan Hume, and Eardly Norton, to tour the country and to appeal to the British public, on behalf of the unrepresented millions of India, to support the Congress in its demand for reform in the administration of their country. The meetings they addressed were well attended; in every case the audience manifested great interest in the reform proposals. Resolutions were enthusiastically adopted at several meetings in favour of the reforms, and petitions

were sent to the House of Commons praying for the acceptance of the Congress scheme for Council Reform. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this platform campaign was the series of lectures delivered in different parts of England by Bradlaugh on Indian questions.

CHAPTER XXII

A YEAR OF WORRY AND GLORY

ARDUOUS as is the task of a Member of Parliament at all times, in Dadabhai's case its responsibilities were exceptionally onerous. He had to discharge his duties to his British constituency, as well as to India. Confronted by tried and hard-headed statesmen, what could a single representative of a distant dependency of Britain achieve? No one expected that he would take the House by storm, but the invincible optimist had strong hopes of extorting a hearing, on behalf of India, day after day, until he could make the Indian question a familiar one and get the House to agree to at least a few measures of reform for which he had been crying in the wilderness for more than thirty years. His was not the voice which at once took the ear. But rhetoric is not the lever with which the House is moved. Mastery of facts, courage of conviction, earnestness of purpose—these were the levers with which he hoped to move it.

To distinguish oneself in the great Imperial Assembly is no simple matter even for tried British politicians. What hope was there for Dadabhai to shine in the midst of that constellation of stars of exceptional brilliance? His splendour might at least have been dimmed, if he had not altogether disappeared from view. The Indian luminary, however, lost nothing in brilliance. There was one special circumstance in his favour. Even with the support of the Irish Nationalists the Gladstonian Administration had a majority of only forty in the representative chamber. Consequently, every small group, every unit, was an asset of very great value to the Government of the day. The first Indian M.P. had therefore a better opportunity to find his way in the House and to create a favourable impression than would have been the case if he had been merely a unit in a large majority. Thanks, moreover, to the courtesy of members of all parties, the encouragement of the Premier, the solicitude of old friends like Samuel Smith, Wedderburn,

and Caine, and the goodwill and assistance of Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, and of his Deputy, George Russell, he moved about in the House, as if he had been long used to its procedure.

Dadabhai took the earliest opportunity to make his maiden speech during the debate on the Address. It was but a personal note, expressing the joy of his countrymen at his election as a member of the House, coupled with an appeal on their behalf for fair consideration of Indian questions. The House listened with keen interest to the Indian member who, for the first time in English history, stood before them. He stood there, he said, in the name of India to thank British rulers that they had made it possible for an Indian to stand before the House with the conviction that whenever he had any grievance to bring forward, he would always find a large number of other members ready to support him and to concede the justice for which he asked. . . . The moral force of which the right honourable Member of Midlothian spoke was the golden thread by which India was held by the British power ; as long as India was satisfied with the justice and honour of Britain so long would the Indian Empire endure.

Close upon that modest speech followed many embarrassing questions and many intrepid arguments. The Indian member invariably occupied over a page of the Order book of the House of commons with notices or motions calling for detailed information and returns concerning the agricultural wealth of India and other matters concerning that country. Well might some member have called for a return from the India Office, showing the special staff needed, and its cost, for satisfying the curiosity of the member for Central Finsbury.

The growing divergence of value between gold and silver was then engaging the attention of the financiers of the world. An International Conference convened at Brussels had proved abortive. Despite the powerful advocacy of the bimetallists of the day to abandon or modify the gold standard, several Powers, including Britain, were against making any fundamental change in their monetary system.

The fall in the value of the rupee had, however, hit India very hard and any arbitrary attempt to fix the ratio was likely to hit her harder still.

Dadabhai had been expounding the problem in the columns of *The Times* and other journals since 1886. He had published also a leaflet entitled *Indian Exchanges and Bimetallism*. One of the letters to *The Times*, which attached great value to his views on this subject, dated Suez, December 23, 1886, was a brief but emphatic repudiation of all the arguments in favour of bimetallism.

On March 28 Sir Seymour King rose to call attention to the grave and injurious consequences likely to ensue in the Civil and Military Services of the Indian Government from its failure to provide compensation for the reduction of their salaries by the diminution of the value of the rupee. He moved that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the matter. It was stated that the Viceroy had already expressed himself before a deputation in favour of granting compensation to the officers concerned. Dadabhai was indignant. 'It never occurred to the proposer or to the Viceroy', he said, 'that there was another side to the picture. What was the position of the people of India themselves from the fall in exchange? There was not a word of pity or sympathy with regard to those from whose pockets whatever was demanded had to be paid !

Then he gave a harrowing picture of the poverty of India, citing his favourite authorities. From that question to the drain of India's wealth was the next logical step. 'You ought to have some heart and some justice', he observed feelingly, 'to consider from what source this money has to be made up'. What was the use of a committee? The Viceroy had made up his mind. 'There has hardly been an instance', he boldly asserted, 'in which a Commission has sat on such a matter as this and decided in a manner that can be called impartial and unbiassed. . . The whole thing is a foregone conclusion . . . Do not put additional taxation on these poor people'.

A conference of all the Indians resident in England was

held in St Martin's Town Hall, London, on June 2. From the Chair Dadabhai submitted a resolution as follows :

That fall or rise in exchange does not in itself matter in true international trade, which adjusts itself automatically to the requirements of exchange; that closing the mints or introducing the Gold Standard does not and cannot save a single farthing to the Indian tax-payers in their remittances for 'Home Charges'; that closing the mints and thereby raising the true rupee of about 11 d. of gold to a false rupee of 16 d. of gold is a cruel act of exacting 45 per cent more taxation from the Indian tax-payers, and at the same time of increasing the salaries of officials, and other payments in India by Government to the same extent; that the introduction of a gold standard will simply add more to the existing grievous burdens of the tax-payers to the extent of the cost of the alteration ; that the real cause of the terrible evils of poverty, famine, plague, false currency, etc., is what Lord Salisbury calls the 'bleeding' of India.

During the last forty years the theories of political economy and public finance have undergone many modifications and qualifications, but most of the principles stressed and views expressed by Dadabhai hold good to this day. Although his opposition to the change from a silver to a gold standard would seem to have been ill-founded in the light of subsequent experience, the conception that in the long run a rise or fall in exchange is of no fundamental importance, inasmuch as ultimately commodities are exchanged against commodities, needed emphasis in Dadabhai's days, as it does even today. So also was it necessary to stress the difficulties of abandoning the silver standard and the cost involved, but his unmitigated opposition to the introduction of a gold standard appears today to have been misconceived. Time has muffled the sporadic outcries of the silver interests. The adoption of the gold exchange standard, it is now recognized, has turned out to be an advantage to India. She was thereby linked up to the progressive group of gold standard countries and saved from being the dumping ground of the white metal which was discarded by country after country. Such a contingency could not,

however, have been anticipated by those who lived in the days of Dadabhai. Nor was it realized in his days, as it has come to be recognized only recently, that the word 'drain' has been one of the most heavily worked words in Indian Economics.

To raise a debate on the question of the Civil Service Examination Dadabhai tabled a Bill to provide that the first examination for appointments to the Civil Services of India should be held simultaneously in India and the United Kingdom. As there was not the slightest chance of success he arranged for a resolution to the same effect being tabled by Herbert Paul simultaneously with the Bill.

Nothing was to left to chance. The consummate canvasser had called on members individually and succeeded in impressing upon not a few the reason and justice of the demand. The chances of the Ballot brought Paul the privilege of opening a discussion on the question and moving his resolution on June 2. It was seconded by Dadabhai and supported by Wedderburn. All the arguments in favour of the proposal, were successfully put before the House by Dadabhai. It was for Parliament to determine whether the declarations made in the name of God and before the world should be acted upon or not.

After a memorable debate the motion was agreed to. It was the proudest moment in Dadabhai's career; all India rejoiced with him. It was a victory of right over might, of justice over aggression.

A resolution is, however, one thing; executive action another. At best the vote was a snatch one. It had caught Government napping. It seemed, therefore, probable that the resolution would remain inoperative. The Lords, moreover, had set their face against it. Dadabhai called upon all his friends to meet that challenge.

The resolution of the House was not binding on the Government of India. It rested with the Secretary of State in Council whether to instruct the authorities in India to give effect to it or not. Lord Kimberley was, however, good enough to write to Dadabhai that although he was personally opposed to the suggested reform, he would not

he had, therefore, forwarded the resolution to the Government of India. This left a ray of hope that powerful agitation in support of the reform might soften the official opposition.

There being a general desire in India that Dadabhai should be invited to his motherland and given a rousing reception, the Lahore Committee of the Congress invited him to accept the office of President of the next Congress session, and he arranged for absence of a few weeks from his new scene of activities, little dreaming that his path homeward would be darkened by a dire domestic calamity.

Just as he was returning from his hospital work in Cutch Mandvi, on the morning of October 7, Dadabhai's son Adi died of heart failure in the prime of life. Deep sympathy was expressed by Dadabhai's friends in England and India. Amongst heaps of letters of condolence received by him from all parts of the world, there was one from Malabari, which, brief as it was, struck a touching note of solace : 'I know you have enough of faith and fortitude to bear up against this grievous loss. Remember, all India is your son'.

Dadabhai bore the loss with remarkable fortitude and did not allow his private grief to intrude upon his public utterances or even upon his private correspondence. It was not merely for India that Dadabhai had worked during that memorable year. He had rendered signal service to his electors individually and to his constituency generally. A member for a constituency has to do many things for it besides watching its interests in the House of Commons. He has to attend not only political meetings called by his own political party, but also those numerous social and charitable functions which are allied to no party. Besides warmly interesting himself in various charitable undertakings, Dadabhai took lively interest in the work of several friendly and temperance societies in Finsbury.

The member for India was in constant demand for addressing meetings of various organizations and clubs in his constituency, political and non-political; and he took delight in acceding to such requests so far as possible. Even the London Chamber of Commerce and the Institute of Bankers and other commercial bodies throughout England invited

him to speak on economic and financial questions. All this made Dadabhai feel more and more conscious that he was but an instrument by which India had been enabled to make her voice heard in and outside the house of Commons and that his conduct and attitude as the first Indian Member of Parliament should be such as to pave the way for other Indians to the Imperial Assembly.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE HERO'S HOME-COMING

DADABHAI'S home-coming was marked by unparalleled enthusiasm and rejoicing throughout the country. His elevation to the highest Assembly in the British Empire marked an epoch in the political evolution of the Indian people. That historic event, coupled with his early victory in getting the House of Commons to endorse his demand for holding in India and England simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service, appeared to have advanced the political education and raised the political aspirations of India more than years of activities of all the national organizations put together. His triumph meant the triumph of the people, their feelings of joy, and their sentiment of unity and solidarity thus awakened, were exquisitely reflected in the popular demonstration held in his honour.

The mail boat carrying Dadabhai was timed to reach Bombay harbour by midnight on December 2. The whole city was astir before day break. Crowds of people began to converge towards the place of landing. By 7 a.m. the Applo Bunder was packed with a dense mass of people. The pier was decorated with flags and flowers and multi-coloured bunting. The roads leading to the Bunder were gay with flags and festoons, and there were mottoes put up on coloured cloth bearing Dadabhai's portrait, thanking the Finsbury electors and welcoming 'the bravest, noblest, and best son of India'. On one of these banners was inscribed the benediction, 'God bless thee, our selfless man and stainless gentleman', and on another the prayer, 'India wants 100 like ye for her salvation'. •

There was not a road leading to the Bunder which was not thronged by hundreds and hundreds of citizens; and everywhere along the route were seen groups of women and children waiting to have a glimpse of the simple man of whose exploits they had heard such fascinating stories. Here,

there, everywhere were schoolgirls and schoolboys, with garlands in their hands, ready to greet the man revered as the *Rishi* of India. The steamer was, however, behind scheduled time. The Reception Committee of citizens, after a hurried consultation, decided that the landing should take place at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The disappointed folk made their way home, but they turned out once more, long before the appointed hour, and came back the pier along the route fixed by the Committee. At 4 p.m., the steam-launch conveying Dadabhai and the members of the deputation arrived at the pier. He was dressed in his national costume—black coat and turban and red silk trousers. At the first glimpse the crowd made such a rush towards him that he could not meet even his two daughters and grandchildren, who were eagerly waiting for him in the pavilion. He had to be literally pushed by Pherozeshah Mehta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, into the carriage that was kept waiting near the pavilion. A procession of carriages followed him.

From windows, from balconies, even from house-tops, thousands of dusky faces peered down on the moving throng below, and until the conquering hero reached his home the sky was rent every minute with cheers and hurrahs. Almost every family and every institution brought their quota of flowers and poured them into the carriage in which he kept standing all along the route, bowing to the people.

At 6 p.m., the procession arrived at Dadabhai's house where he was received by his family. Among the friends who went with him into his house was his friend and colleague Seymour Keay, M.P., who had been a fellow-passenger with him on board the steamer.

It was, indeed, a welcome that even royalty might have envied. The first to congratulate Dadabhai on such a magnificent reception was the Governor of Bombay, Lord Harris. Two members of Council and the Chief Justice, called on him later.

Members of numerous deputations from Poona, Satara, Belgaum, Sholapur, Surat, Broach, Naosari and other parts of the Bombay Presidency then met Dadabhai at the rooms

of the Bombay Presidency Association, where he was requested by Wacha to relate to them his experience regarding his struggles to gain admission to the House of Commons. After referring to his first unsuccessful contest, which had enabled him to advertise himself loudly in the centre of the Metropolis, Dadabhai told the audience how on a vacancy occurring at Central Finsbury, he had jumped in at once. He had met with many disappointments, but his last trump card was India, which did not fail to excite interest. Referring to Captain Penton's petition, Dadabhai said it was easy to make indictments, but difficult to prove them. Ultimately, like wise and sensible men they came to terms. He had been received in the House very cordially, and had obtained support even from Conservative members.

'And was not the late Prime Minister discomfited by your presence?' asked Dinsha Wacha.

'No', replied the high-minded man, carefully refraining from uttering a single word against the statesman whose ill-conditioned tongue had brought ridicule on himself. He merely remarked that the words used by Lord Salisbury had made him popular all over the United Kingdom. He was invited everywhere, and wherever there was a placard announcing his presence, there was sure to be a large and successful meeting.

On December 18 numerous addresses were presented to the popular hero at the Town Hall of Bombay by various organisations and deputations. In thanking them all for the welcome extended to him at the Gate of India, he told them that such events as his election were a triumph and proof of the beneficent side of the British rule. He deeply felt his responsibility.

On December 20 the President-elect of the Congress, accompanied by Wacha, Honorary Secretary, left Bombay for Lahore. Whatever the hour of arrival of the train at each station, day or night, midnight or dawn, men, women, and children in crowds came forward with the customary floral tribute for the *darshan* of the Grand Old Man.

At Lahore, which in those days was rarely stirred to enthusiasm on political issues, the Punjabis, including the

Muslims, were intensely jubilant. The address presented by the Reception Committee of the Congress referred in eulogistic terms to Dadabhai's mastery of Indian problems and of his advocacy of the cause of India : 'The greatest gift the Parsis have bestowed on India', it added; 'is your own good self'. Then followed other addresses. Dadabhai exhorted all to rise above sectarian feelings.

'He had a welcome', wrote William Hunter in *The Times*, 'such as has only on one occasion been rivalled even by a Vice-regal ovation'.

The return journey from Lahore to Bombay was another triumphal procession. It was demonstrating that national unity, even in a country divided by caste and creed, was not a dream.

On June 12 Dadabhai received the Bombay Municipal Corporations' address eulogizing his services to the City in every line of public activity. After several other functions he took his departure for England on January 22, by the mail steamer *Sutlej*. A demonstration of the college students of the city having been organised in his honour, he drove up, on his way to the Bunder, to the porch of the Elphinstone College. Amidst scenes of lively enthusiasm an address was presented to the first Indian professor of the College, who had returned to them, bowed with the weight of three score years and eight, as the acknowledged political teacher of the nation and the inspirer of its hopes and aspirations. 'In our younger days', he said in reply, 'we are said to be the hope and promise of our land. Now it rests upon you to fulfil that hope and promise in the future.'

A large number of students then attempted to unyoke the horses from Dadabhai's carriage. The writer of this memoir was one of them. The scene is still vivid in his mind, and he has a lively recollection, too, of the cracks of the whip of the Parsi coachman, which kept the students at bay. Failing in that attempt, some of them walked in front of and some behind the carriage to the Apollo Bunder. Then a deputation, proceeded on board the *Sutlej* to give him a send-off worthy of the revered *guru* whose life-work it had been to teach, prepare and organize myriads of disciples, old and young, to rise to the status of a free nation.

CHAPTER XXIV

HISTORIC DEBATES

'THE Chairman and several members of the Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association met me at the Station and gave me a "good reception" wrote Dadabhai to Malabari on his return to London. Thus auspiciously begun, the year 1894 ended in memorable work in the House of Commons.

The victory of 1893 in the battle of the services had been nullified by the guerilla warfare carried on by the Government of India. The Bureaucracy in India had proved too powerful for the House. The victory of 1894, however, led to the fruition of Dadabhai's strenuous efforts for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the question of Indian expenditure.

In the course of the Indian Budget debate Samuel Smith moved a resolution demanding such an inquiry. It led to a luminous discussion on Indian affairs such as the House had rarely listened to before.

In opening the debate, Samuel Smith observed that the main complaint of the Indian people was that the British system of government was too expensive for a poor country. They were right. Having been associated with Dadabhai in the study of the question for nearly forty years, and having revisited India a little while ago, he produced facts and figures to establish the impoverishment of the country. The abyss that swallowed up the resources of the country was its growing military expenditure. The Indian people, said Smith, had no Parliament of their own; they made their mute appeal to the Mother of parliaments. He begged the House not to reject it.

Dadabhai seconded the Resolution. Although he was asking the House for a large draft upon its indulgence, it listened good-humouredly to his speech.

The Secretary of State for India was not opposed to an

inquiry. He admitted that it would be wise from time to time to have an inquiry as to how the revenues of India were spent. He suggested, however, that the motion might be withdrawn ; in that case he would undertake, on the part of the Government, that at the commencement of the following session they would propose the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into that question. Samuel Smith accepted the suggestion.

Dadabhai then raised several issues concerning apportionment of certain items of expenditure between England and India by way of an amendment to the address, in reply to the speech from the throne.

The Secretary of State was not against an inquiry into the question whether an unfair share of home charges was placed on the Indian Exchequer. It had been urged upon him whether it would not be desirable to have a small, but thoroughly efficient and impartial, Royal Commission to inquire into the question. Not only on behalf of his colleagues in the Government but also on behalf of his colleagues at the India Office and the Indian Government, he warmly assured the House that it was their desire not to oppress India, not to bleed India, not to injure India, but to go on in the career of progress that had characterized the rule of India by Great Britain.

Dadbhai then withdrew his amendment and sat down triumphant.

About this time Russia was bent upon building up a vast Asiatic Empire. The Russian bogey was a nightmare to Britain. A fresh rumour of Russian invasion then formed a central topic of discussion in English newspapers. Dadabhai took the opportunity to give his views on the subject in an article entitled 'The Fear of A Russian Invasion', in the September number of *India*. If the system of the present despotism, drain and distrust are continued, he observed, sooner or later, perhaps sooner, great trouble will ensue. If the internal problem is satisfactorily solved, we may leave Russia to her own devices. . . Let there be a contented, not a distressed, British India and Englishmen may snap their fingers at any external danger.

‘Are the Indian people dissatisfied with our rule?’ asked a representative of *Great Thoughts* in the course of an interview with Dadabhai, (August 8, 1895): Dissatisfaction is growing everyday, he replied, and he would be a bold man who asserted that it would not one day lead to some terrible disaster’.

In an interview given to G. W. Tooley, and published in *The Humanitarian* (June 1895) he expressed in more emphatic terms his apprehensions of a revolt in India.

Do not misunderstand me, there is immense gratitude in India to England. The present generation feels the benefit it has derived from education. . . But succeeding generations will not feel that. However improved the conditions in which they find themselves, they will demand more, and if they do not get it, they will rebel.

No account of the work done by Dadabhai in the House of Commons would be complete without a reference to the part he took in the debates in the House concerning the opium trade. Early in his career as a business man he had expressed his abhorrence of trades pandering to the lowest forms of sensual indulgence and had informed his partners that he would not touch the profits derived from the firm’s dealings in opium and wines and spirits. He had also told Lord Hartington in his memorable correspondence with him that the opium trade was an instance of the demoralization of the British Government itself. In 1886 he found several members of the House of Commons and other British citizens waging a war on opium, and he readily plunged himself into the contest. He then identified himself with the work of the India and China League, the object of which was the suppression of the opium trade. It aimed also at creating a powerful public opinion on Indian questions of a moral character and to carry on an agitation in that behalf. The practical measures principally promoted comprised, besides withdrawal from the opium trade, Indian Financial Reform and ‘native participation’ in the Indian Government.

On April 10, 1891, a resolution was passed in the House of Commons affirming that the system by which Indian opium revenue was raised was morally indefensible and

expressing the opinion that the Government of India should 'cease to grant licences for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medicinal purposes', and that they should at the same time take measures to arrest the transit through British territory of opium cultivated in Indian States. The opium question was thus raised to a position it had never before occupied.

Drink was another curse which Dadabhai hoped to see eradicated during his life-time. In his two colleagues in politics, Caine and Samuel Smith, he found two ardent champions of the temperance movement in England. When Caine was in Bombay in the year 1888, he called a conference of representative Indians where a strong desire was expressed that an organization should be formed in Great Britain, to act in conjunction with branch associations in India, with a view to saving India from the growth of the drinking habit amongst the people. The Anglo-Indian Temperance Association was inaugurated accordingly, with Samuel Smith as President. Dadabhai was a zealous member from its inception and a member of the Executive Committee for several years.

The co-operation of the National Temperance Association of Great Britain was secured, and public opinion was stirred in both countries. A wave of temperance enthusiasm then swept over India. Branch Committees were formed in all the principal cities and a network of Temperance Societies was established throughout the country.

Lectures were organized and suitable literature distributed in every Province; deputations from England were sent to India with a view to the encouragement of the workers and the extension of the movement. It was Dadabhai's contention that all that was needed was to prevent wines and spirits going to India. But while giving India Western civilization, the British Government had introduced in the country, which was by religion and life abstinent, what Caine called 'the most western of all institutions', the excise system, and with it the liquor-shop. Almost all the distilleries in India belonged to Government. They let out liquor-shops by public action to the highest

bidder who undertook to sell the largest number of gallons of liquor from the distilleries.

The Association got a resolution carried in the House of Commons (April 1889), calling upon the Government to introduce drastic reforms in the Indian Excise administration.

A considerable number of Indians resident in London, mostly students, met at Westminster Town Hall, to inaugurate an 'Indian Brotherhood of Total Abstinents.' Samuel Smith presided and blessed the movement. He believed, with Dadabhai, that one of the most helpful and effective ways of grappling with the drink evil was to make the rising generation detest it and regard it as its duty and life's purpose to destroy it. The Indian Brotherhood was formally inaugurated and Dadabhai was elected President.

It was not to be expected that a floating population of students could achieve much to promote abstinence. Dadabhai was content to see young students interested in the temperance movement and carrying with them to India a sense of abhorrence of the drink habit. Ever optimistic, he looked forward to the day when all India would vote for prohibition.

CHAPTER XXV

UNSEATED

THE long-expected announcement of the appointment of a Royal Commission was made towards the end of May 1895. By a Royal Warrant, dated May 24, Commissioners were appointed, with Lord Welby as chairman, to inquire into the administration and management of the military and Civil Expenditure incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council or of the Government of India, and the apportionment of charges between the Governments of the United Kingdom and India for purposes in which both were interested. Dadabhai was invited to join the Commission. He was the only Indian member, but there were two British members as good as if not better than Indians—Wedderburn and Caine.

A seat on the Royal Commission meant arduous work, particularly for Dadabhai, who had been agitating for years for the appointment of such a Commission. It was up to him to convince the Commission that all that he had been urging was based on facts and figures and that what he wished to bring home to his colleagues was supported by the evidence of capable witnesses. He had also to equip himself with complete data to cross-examine hostile witnesses.

The dissolution of Parliament on the heels of the Commission's appointment should have left him free for the work. But Dadabhai would not thus allow himself to be excluded from the House. He had now greater claims on the suffrages of Central Finsbury than ever before; and he was adopted as the candidate for the constituency at a meeting of the United Liberal and Radical Association.

The chances of success for a Liberal were, however, very poor. During the term of office of the Liberal Parliament important questions seriously affecting various powerful interests had come to the front. To quote Dadabhai's own words in a letter Wacha, 'the parson, the peer, the

publican and property were fighting a life-and-death struggle against the coming doom'.

Enthusiastic meetings were held in support of Dadabhai's candidature and powerful appeals made by the local Liberal leaders to support their 'present faithful, devoted member'. One of the leaflets ran as follows :

Who stood by the Poor Costers in Farringdom Road ?
Why, the Radical Clubs and Trade Unions. Then Costers,
Vote for Radical and Trade Union causes and
D. NAOROJI.

Similarly, the Irish National League backed the Indian Gladstone, so that inspite of the storm that was blowing over Liberalism, Dadabhai's prospects did not seem quite gloomy. On the eve of the election wrote Martin Wood (July 11) : 'I hear hopeful reports of your prospects ; go ahead'.

Dadabhai was, nevertheless, caught in the storm. The wave of reaction which submerged William Harcourt in Derby and John Morley in Newcastle was equally destructive in Central Finsbury. While Dadabhai was busy in the House of Commons, his opponent, the Hon. W. F. B. Massey Mainwaring, had been assiduously pushing his claims to the seat. Besides ample leisure and unlimited resources, he had two powerful allies in the Church and the liquor interest, and he won the seat by a majority of 805 votes, the figures being 3,588 against 2,783.

India heard of Dadabhai's exclusion from the House of Commons with deep regret. He however, took his defeat calmly. In a high-toned message which he sent to his fellow-countrymen he declared he would continue his efforts to get into the House of Commons again.

CHAPTER XXVI

INDIAN EXPENDITURE COMMISSION

OF the numerous arduous efforts of Dadabhai for reforms in various directions the most strenuous was his prolonged and vehement struggle for having an inquiry instituted into the financial administration of India and his laborious work on the Royal Commission appointed for the purpose. He could never have done justice to his work on the Commission had he been simultaneously saddled with Parliamentary duties. The loss of his seat in the House of Commons was, therefore, a blessing in disguise; it set him free to concentrate all his time and energy on that work.

Lord Welby was a capable and considerate Chairman. The other members of the Commission were all seasoned statesmen, devoid of anti-Indian bias. Nevertheless, from the commencement Dadabhai feared (and his apprehensions came true) that with Wedderburn and Caine he was in a minority of three. At the very first meeting there was a sharp cleavage of opinion as to the scope of the subject-matter referred to the Commission. It was suggested by some of his colleagues that the apportionment clause had for its object only the settlement of the disputes between the India Office on the one hand and the War Office and the Admiralty on the other. Against thus restricting the inquiry Dadabhai entered an emphatic protest. In the course of the debate in the House of Commons, on his amendment to the Address, he had made it clear that he was praying for an adjustment of the financial relations between the United Kingdom and British India with regard to all the expenditure incurred in England and India. The beginning did not augur well. Officialdom seemed to be bent upon thwarting him. He, too, must be ready for a counter-attack.

In the midst of this work the Civil Service question was not shelved. Nay, it formed part of the inquiry itself. Dadabhai was determined to raise the issue once more in

connexion with the investigation. At the same time he exhorted Congress Committees and other political organizations in India to overwhelm the authorities with monster petitions.

Dadabhai then began writing a series of elaborate notes expanding the case for India as argued by him in the House of Commons. The first note indicated how from the beginning of the British connexion India had been made to pay for every possible kind of expenditure for the acquisition and maintenance of British rule. Britain had never contributed her fair share for all the great benefits derived from all such expenditure from the revenues of India.

Caine concurred in Dadabhai's views and thus from the commencement the pro-India trio anticipated trouble. They even visualized a minority report.

Caine suggested that the British Committee of the Congress should ask the Congress to select two witnesses to give evidence before the Commission. Dadabhai asked Wacha to send a précis of the evidence for the information of the Commission with the names of witnesses so as to reach him before January 20, 1896. There was one Indian whom Dadabhai longed to see pitted against the official hierarchy—Mahadev Govind Ranade, the distinguished jurist, economist, and social and political reformer, highly esteemed for independence, impartiality and sobriety of views. The Government of India, however, did not favour the idea of a High Court judge being asked to give evidence before the Commission. They suggested that the Bombay Presidency Association might be asked to select a witness; it nominated Wacha. With him went Gopal Krishna Gokhale as the representative of the Deccan Sabha. The other Indian witnesses were Surendranath Banerjea from Bengal and G. Subrahmanya Aiyar from Madras. But before they crossed the seas Dadabhai had put in several notes for the edification of his colleagues. After submitting elaborate tables concerning production and distribution and citing eminent authorities, Dadabhai maintained that he had shown that one of the results of the prevailing system was the extreme poverty of the mass of

the people of British India, 'suicidal to British name and rule and destructive and degrading to the people of British India'.

• With his ninth and final note Dadabhai furnished a table showing expenditure on wars beyond the Indian frontiers. His statement might or might not be taken into account by the Commission making its report. If, however, he appeared before the Commission as a witness it would, he thought, be compelled to deal with the issues raised by him. In that hope he subjected himself voluntarily to the fire of cross-examination as a witness.

There were several passages-at-arms between the Chairman and the witness. To cite one instance.

The Chairman : 'I wish to ask you whether you propose to retain any part of Civil Service—the European Service ?'

'Only the highest portion such as the Viceroy, the Governors, the Commander-in-Chief. Let us have the whole Civil Service, leaving alone the high level of the Europeans as the controlling power'.

'Then you would have the Viceroy, etc. ?'

'These certainly'.

'No Englishmen beneath them ?'

'I do not see any necessity for others'.

'And by degrees you would evict them all ?'

'We may go gradually higher up'.

'But the history of India is that the people have been continually slaughtering each other?' . . . 'Is your recipe for reviving the prosperity of India to let loose the Pindaris ?'

'Not necessary. Those days are gone . . .'

'Do you remember what Sir Madhava Rao, Prime Minister of Baroda, said to Lord Roberts on the subject of India for the Indians ?'

'What did he say ?'

'He said it would be like loosing the bars of the cages of the Zoological Gardens and letting out the animals, that very soon they would all be dead except the tiger—the tiger was, I believe, the war-like people of Northern India'.

'Is this the result of 150 years of British rule that we are not civilized enough to observe law and order ?'

(It was, on the whole, a brilliant performance. The severity of the cross-examination gave him the opportunity of driving home all his points and, incidentally, impressing his colleagues with his grasp of the facts and figures bearing on the issues involved.

Since the year 1896 the situation is radically altered. It is, therefore, scarcely necessary to go into the details of the evidence placed before the Commission or of its recommendations or points of conflict between the majority and minority viewpoints.

There was no note of despondency in Dadabhai's letters to his friends concerning the Commission's report. His labours had not been thrown away. Such as it was, the report had taken cognizance of some of the inequities against which India had to contend.)

CHAPTER XXVII

BRITISH RULE LACKING BRITISH PRINCIPLES

EVEN whilst he was engrossed in the work of the Royal Commission, Dadabhai organised a vigorous platform campaign throughout the United Kingdom on behalf of India. For four decades he and his friends, British and Indian, had made unceasing efforts to bring to the notice of the British people the grievances of India and the defects in the system of administration of the country. They had received the sympathy and encouragement of numerous individuals and large audiences throughout the country, but they had failed to create any appreciable impression on those who held the reins of office. Should he give up the struggle? On the contrary, he was determined that the last days of his life should be devoted to a more extensive and more intensive campaign throughout the United Kingdom, demanding for India British rule on British principles.

Dinsha Wacha and Gokhale arrived in London in April 1897. Surendranath Banerjea and Subrahmanya Aiyar, the other two Indians deputed to give evidence before the Royal Commission, were also in England at the time. Taking advantage of the presence of these practised speakers, Dadabhai and his colleagues launched the campaign. The time of the year was not favourable; nevertheless the speakers drew large audiences.

The campaign for the year 1897 culminated in a Resolution passed at a conference of Indians resident in the United Kingdom, held under the auspices of the London Indian Society, on December 28, at Montagu Mansions, affirming that the main cause of the misery and evil from which India suffered was the unrighteous and un-British system of government which produced an unceasing and ever-increasing bleeding of the country, and which was maintained by a political hypocrisy and continuous subterfuges, entirely in opposition to the wishes of the British.

people, and utterly in violation of Acts and Resolutions of Parliament and of the most solemn and repeated pledges of the British nation and Sovereign, and demanding that a large portion, if not the whole, of the famine and plague expenditure, and the whole cost of the unwise Frontier War must be met from the British exchequer.

About this time, it caused some uneasiness to Dadabhai's friends to find him seeking the support of Socialists in his crusade. The *Hindu Patriot* considered it a dangerous policy.

Do not be prejudiced (he said) that it is the Socialists who are helping us. If you know thoroughly the enormous difficulties we have to move Englishmen in the Indian cause... you will realize the value of the help we are getting from the Socialists, and that is mostly because Mr Hyndman is at their head... When he first wrote his article on the 'Bankruptcy of India,' he had not dreamt of socialism... it is an unexpected good fortune that the Indian cause has been taken up by a powerful and advancing organization to whom the future largely belongs.

While, however, he fully appreciated the value of Hyndman's whole-hearted support, Dadabhai stoutly rejected his persistent advice and appeals for a change in the method of agitation. Hyndman, however, grew more and more bitter in his condemnation of the spineless agitation of Indians. He suggested that they should meet and decide how to help India. Nothing will be done unless some serious agitation is set on foot. I cannot help feeling contempt for the Indians here and in India who, instead of seriously taking up their own cause in a serious way, leave all the work to be done by a man of yours (*sic*), and pass such a silly resolution of congratulation to the Queen as was passed at the Indian National Congress the other day. Congratulations for what? For having ruined India for two or three generations to come? It is pitiful. Men in high positions have said to me, 'Where is the evidence of discontent, Mr Hyndman? Where is the cry for justice from the people of India themselves? If the people are so poor and oppressed, as you say they are, surely we should

hear a little more of it than we do hear!' What answer can I make to such a challenge? There is no answer... It is time to be up and stirring, if any good is to be done. I will help, and so will our organization and *Justice*, as much as possible; but 'Providence helps those who help themselves'.

But how to make vigorous stir? Dadabhai has not left behind any note about the interviews he had with Hyndman, but his letter to Hyndman, written after the conversations, give us an idea of the fundamental difference of opinion between them.

After reading your article in *Justice* I cannot any more work with you and the S.D.F. on Indian matters. My desire and aim has been not to encourage rebellion but to prevent it and to make the British connection with India a benefit and blessing to both countries.

To the wrongs of India one more was added by the prosecutions instituted against journalists for sedition. Dadabhai regarded the prosecutions as a 'political blunder'. 'They are doing the very thing they desire to prevent', said he in a letter to Wacha (September 30). Fear will lead to such acts which in turn produce the very effects feared. It is a sad thing for India, the weakening of British connexion at British hands'.

CHAPTER XXVIII

STIRRING THE BRITISH PUBLIC

DURING the month of November 1898, Dadabhai went campaigning in Lancashire. Special attention was paid to it, as much harm had been done to India in the interests of Lancashire trade, and as much good could be done, if the Lancashire people realized what could really promote the cotton trade between England and India. The first lecture of the series was given under the auspices of the East Manchester Liberal Association, in Chorlton Town Hall, on November 14. 'Are you aware', asked Dadabhai, 'that the drain of wealth from India acts as "protection" of Indian industry? It is a well-known economic law that a tribute not only takes from the tributary nation the amount paid but also raises against them the price of all foreign goods'.

Dadabhai then addressed several meetings successively at Castleton, Chorley, Atherton, and Knutsford. W. A. Chambers, Romesh Dutt, and Bepin Chandra Pal, all excellent orators, took part in the propaganda. The British Committee of the Congress was also active. W. S. Caine gave a lecture on the Indian National Congress. Everywhere the apostles of Indian reform were hailed with delight. John Bright had advised his countrymen that there were only two ways in which Britain could get good out of India for themselves—one of these was by plunder, and the other by trade. British people, said Dadabhai, would prefer the second alternative. For that, however, India must be rich, whereas the value of the whole produce of the people was not more than Rs. 20 per head per annum. What could be expected from such a people as regards trade?

The argument went home to the business men present. The grievances of India, which were brought to their notice, evoked sympathy for her people, and the proposed reforms seemed to them to be just and reasonable.

A good many meetings were similarly addressed in all parts of England.

During the year 1900 there was famine in India, the worst experienced during twenty-five years. Dadabhai had a crowded programme of meetings all over the country. On June 28 Mrs Charles Mallett gave an address on the Indian Famine, with the G.O.M. in the chair. He then addressed a garden meeting at Anerley and a meeting of the Metropolitan Radical Federation at Plumstead Radical Club. In his old constituency, Finsbury, he delivered an address to the Lighthouse P.S.A. Society.

At one of the meetings he said India had been loyal to the Crown but sounded a warning: 'Do not expect that loyalty cannot fail'. This was no empty threat. India at the end of the century was not the India of 1852 when Dadabhai had made his first political speech. Everybody knew that there was grave unrest in India, but Dadabhai knew much more. He had heard from Hyndman that the authorities had been anticipating serious trouble and were at last awakening to the gravity of the situation.

On October 13, 1900, Dr Mullick gave a reception at Hotel Tudor in honour of Dadabhai. The special object was to afford a number of young Indians interested in the struggle that lay ahead, the struggle which called for new recruits to relieve the members of the old guard. Romesh Dutt, Digby, and several British friends recalled the patriotic work which Dadabhai had pursued with commendable courage and steadfastness and with notable success.

'The only English statesman with whom Dadabhai could be at all compared' said Digby, 'was John Bright, with whom he had many characteristics in common. Bright started a political career, holding certain definite views, and at the end of a long life he found that practically the whole people of the country had accepted them. Where he began, there he finished. So too with Mr. Naoroji. What he advocated years and years ago he was still advocating, and there was constant proof that at last his views were gaining acceptance.'

Dadabhai was delighted to have the opportunity of appealing to the youth of India to come forward and work on behalf of India.

What is the task before you? You have to expose the real secret of the poverty of India. I have, time after time, dealt with reasons and excuses given for that poverty, such as land taxation and decadence of native industries. But these, after all, are only red herrings drawn across the path. . . . As long as the bleeding goes on, there can be no hope for India.

‘Go doggedly forward!’ said he, ‘Learn a lesson from John Bull himself’.

Dadabhai had robust faith in the youth of India—rather unusual for grey heads controlling national organizations. When even his own lieutenants such as Mehta, Wacha and Banerjea were getting impatient of what appeared to be extremist views and rebellious attitude of young Indians in certain quarters, their hoary-headed mentor wanted more and more young men to come forward and hold aloft the torch of freedom.

Missionaries were needed everywhere to serve India and propagate the gospel of freedom. This idea was put forward in a concrete form to Gokhale in a letter written a few years later, when Dadabhai saw the youth of the country responding cheerfully to the call.

Each province should furnish a band of young, well-educated men to become the missionaries of this work and to devote themselves under suitable organization to do it. The tide is with us. The English people and Press are beginning to understand the wrongs of India. Asia is waking up.

A notable manifesto was issued over the signatures of Wedderburn, Hume, and Dadabhai on October 19, 1900. addressed to the President-designate of the Congress at Lahore. It passed under review fifteen years of Congress work and marked a new stage in the history of that organization. It was a critical stage—a parting of the ways. Whether the constitutional movement should develop into its full usefulness, by drawing together the rulers and the ruled and by promoting the welfare of both India and England, or whether the efforts that had been made should end in disappointment and reaction, would depend, said the illustrious trio, upon the attitude and action of the Indian

people. 'We, who were among its originators', they observed, 'have now well-nigh completed our work as pioneers; we have given the lead to the younger men and must look to them to take up in larger measure the burden of the work'.

By hard, earnest work and united purpose, the Congress might constitute itself a valued adviser to the Government of India and an influence in England tending to strengthen the Empire. On the other hand, if the necessary sacrifice and self-denial were not exercised, if the constitutional effort were allowed to lapse from want of courage and constancy, the work of years would be thrown away and a danger would arise that the physical sufferings of the masses might lead to counsels of despair. 'Against such a conclusion', declared the three stalwarts, 'we, who have given our best years to the service of India, will, to the last, use our best efforts in the interests alike of India and England'.

The little Somerset town of Shepton Mallet was honoured, on November 7, by a visit paid by Dadabhai. He was sometimes taxed, said he, with not speaking enough about the good England had done for India, but he could not pay England a higher compliment than that he should be desirous that her connexion with India should continue for a long time. But their misfortune was that un-British rule was far in excess of the good British rule.

The platform campaign was extended even to the pulpit. Through the courtesy of the Rev. John Page Hopps, Pastor of the Free Church, Croydon, who lent his pulpit, on Sunday, April 21, Dadabhai gave a sympathetic audience a harrowing picture of the condition of Indians. 'Do not believe me as gospel', said he, 'study for yourselves!'

An important public meeting, convened jointly by the British Committee of the Congress and the London Indian Society, was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on July 30, to protest against a proposal to tax the people of India for maintaining a garrison of British troops in South Africa. Dadabhai moved the principal resolution. An impartial spokesman on behalf of India was Lord Welby, who seconded the motion. The claim put forward by the British Government that India should contribute to the English

garrison in South Africa was, in his opinion, unprecedented, unjust and unwise.

In the midst of this intensive campaign Dadabhai paid close attention to the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa. He was also actively engaged in combating two great social scourges, the liquor traffic and the opium traffic. He had, moreover, thrown himself into the turmoil of another electoral struggle. Such activities, at his age, deepened the feeling of veneration with which his countrymen watched his career. It culminated in the decision to celebrate in India, as well as in England, the anniversary of his birthday as 'Dadabhai Day'. The first celebration was held on September 4, 1903; thereafter, till the end of his life, Dadabhai Day was celebrated with great enthusiasm.

Out of the amount raised in the year 1869 for a testimonial to Dadabhai, a small amount had been set apart for his portrait. Before an enthusiastic audience, the portrait was unveiled on November 24, 1900, by Ranade, who was then a judge of the High Court. He described Dadabhai as the best product of British education. 'Englishmen', said he, 'should feel proud of Dadabhai as a unique figure in Indian history'.

It might be said, added Ranade, that in the work of reconciliation, Dadabhai's 'extreme position' had not been so helpful and so serviceable to the cause of India as they might have expected. But any one who had studied Dadabhai's writings and his speeches would say that such a calumny as that would never lessen the affection and esteem in which the people held him. In his writings as well as in his speeches there was not a single sentence or expression, even the most casual, which could be pointed out in support of the allegation that he had created a gulf which did not exist before.

This was the last public function performed by Ranade before death prematurely laid low that intellectual giant of India.

CHAPTER XXIX

SELF-GOVERNMENT—THE ONLY REMEDY

EARLY in the year 1904 Lord Curzon committed the greatest folly of his life. Forgetting that the wounds inflicted by the tongue are worse than those made by the sword, in the course of his convocation address at the Calcutta University he made an imputation of untruthfulness against India.

A new life was then stirring among the people of India ; everywhere her educated sons were recalling her great past and longing to regain the place she once occupied in the civilized world. To have insulted, at that psychological moment, the people of a country that had given to mankind great philosophies, art and literature was, to borrow the words of Dadabhai himself in connexion with the partition of Bengal, equivalent to depositing a large store of dynamite under the pivot of the British Empire.

The whole country arose as one man to protest against that insulting speech. Nations are governed by sentiment as much as individuals. The sentiment of the Indian people having been outraged, reason and justice were silenced in the wholesale condemnation of a Viceroyalty distinguished, in the earlier years at least, for great sympathy, sagacity, and statesmanship. Large and influential meetings were held in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lahore, Allahabad, and other places in India, where citizens who had never before taken any part in politics, citizens who even disliked the agitation carried on by the Congress, stood with the political agitators of the day on a common platform and repudiated most vehemently the aspersions cast upon the character of the people.

Dadabhai shared his countrymen's feelings of resentment on this occasion; he rejoiced, at the same time, to find their national spirit thus stirred to its depths. Hitherto he had been crying in the wilderness with a mere handful of colleagues. Now, however, the whole nation was up in arms

against the principles and policy under which India was governed. No such event had taken place before in the history of British India. It showed the signs of the times. The seeds he had scattered broadcast were bearing fruit—a New India was rising to view, a New India conscious of her rights and pulsating with fresh ideas of freedom. Reviewing the situation, he thought they were then at the parting of the ways. The Curzon regime had brought popular unrest to the danger-point. People in India were clamouring for the recall of the Viceroy. Dadabhai does not appear to have encouraged such a demand. As usual, he had no quarrel with individuals. He was out to fight the system which led to misgovernment. He therefore, asked his countrymen, to go to the root of the matter and to demand an instantaneous change in the system of administration. There were only two alternatives before both the people and the rulers—peaceful evolution of the administration of the country, or explosion.

‘Misrule of India’ was the subject of his lecture on March 18, 1904, before the members of the Penge and Beckenham Co-operative Society. It was not a wise policy, he told the audience, to introduce among Indians European literature, civilization, and progress, and at the same time to tell them that they should never have any chance of taking a share in the administration of their country, except by getting rid of their European rulers. While England was thinking of the expansion of the empire, he added, ‘an upheaval and an explosion might, perhaps, take place in that part of it which alone entitled it to the name of Empire.’

The demand for self-government followed soon afterwards. Responding to the toast of ‘The President’ at a gathering of the London Indian Society, on June 1, Dadabhai asked the question whether Indians were to remain for ever hewers of wood and drawers of water, to slave and perish. Without pausing for an answer, he declared :

There is only one remedy to the present dishonourable, hypocritical and destructive system—a system that would break up the Empire, if not saved by a peaceful and prompt revolution. *That remedy is self-government under*

British paramountcy. I earnestly press upon the Indian people to claim unceasingly their birth-right and pledged right of British citizenship, of *self-government*.

One of the ways of awakening the British public to its duty was to have a sort of permanent paragraph inserted in friendly newspapers calling attention to the grievances of India. Dadabhai drew up the following statement, and it appeared in *India* regularly about this period :

The present system of British rule in India by ever-increasingly plundering and draining away the resources of the people deliberately produces extreme impoverishment and thereby causes famine, plague, and starvation on an ever-increasing scale for some 200,000,000 people. Further, the present system is dishonourably violating the most solemn and Parliamentary pledges and the declared honest policy of the British people.

It is therefore the duty as also the greatest interest of the British people to put an end to the present deplorable and unrighteous system and compel their Government to honestly take steps to introduce as speedily as practicable self-government like that of the Colonies under British paramountcy.

Dadabhai then attended an international gathering of Socialists at Amsterdam. It created a stir in India. He had been lecturing for years under the auspices of varied organizations. His hopes were, however, centred in the Labour force which was growing every day. It was extremely desirable that the people of India should win that force to their side. Irrespective of that consideration his innate sympathy with labour drew him to the working classes.

The international Socialist Congress met at Amsterdam from August 14 to August 20, 1904. Delegates from all parts of the world attended the congress to discuss the question of Colonial Policy, and Dadabhai was received there as an honoured guest representing the people of British India. At the sitting held on August 17 the question of India was introduced by a British delegate, S. G. Hobson, on behalf of the 'British Section', and with the approval of the Commission on Colonial Policy. The resolution condemning the system of British rule in India,

which he moved, had the familiar ring of the resolutions passed at various public meetings under Dadabhai's lead. It referred to the plundering and draining of the resources of the people, which caused extreme impoverishment, and called upon the workers of Great Britain to enforce upon their Government the abandonment of the dishonourable system of administration and the establishment of self-government.

The President, Van Kol, then introduced Dadabhai to the assembly. In calling upon him to address the meeting, he asked the audience to rise and stand in silence to mark their respect and commiseration for the suffering millions of India. His words were the signal for one of the most inspiring manifestations of fellow-feeling. As Dadabhai walked slowly to the centre of the platform, he had a rousing reception. The delegates, about a thousand, leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence. Then their thoughts turned from the Indian people to the dignified presence of their representative himself, and they gave him a tremendous ovation. It was a most impressive spectacle—the exploited working men and women of Europe expressing their goodwill and extending their hand of fellowship to the suffering millions of India.

So overpowered was Dadabhai by feelings of gratitude that when he spoke his voice trembled a little, but as he proceeded to lay the case for India before the delegates, it rang clear and resonant from one end of the concert-hall to the other. Most of them did not, before translation, understand a word of what he said, but his delicate features, his refined face, his white hair, and his dignified figure impressed them immensely. The delegates who understood English punctuated his speech with applause, but when the speech was translated into German and French, the Continental delegates were even more emphatic in their demonstrations of agreement and approval of the downright and incisive presentation of the case of the afflicted millions on whose behalf he was speaking. They had no idea that an Indian could be so cultured and so captivating as the venerable man who stood before them.

The burden of Dadabhai's song was the drain of India's

wealth and the poverty of the people. What hope was there of a remedy?

This rests (said Dadabhai) in the hands of the working classes. Working men constitute the immense majority of the people of India, and they appeal to the workmen of the whole world, and ask for their help and sympathy. Let them condemn the wrongs done in India. The remedy is in the hands of the British people. They must compel their Government to fulfil the promises that had been made to India. The remedy is to give India self-government.

The resolution was carried without opposition. 'That means', said the President, 'that this Congress brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India'.

Dadabhai was being driven gradually to extremism. Year after year his criticism of the defects of British rule in India increased in acerbity. It was the result, clearly, of dire disappointment. As yet, however, he had not lost his faith in British justice, nor did he waver in his adherence to the Congress policy of constitutional agitation. In a letter written to him, Wedderburn had expressed his concern at the growing impatience of young men who ridiculed the idea of India getting justice at England's hands without a convulsion. Dadabhai in reply said: 'The older people have had their eyes opened to the high character of British institutions and they became attached to them. They cannot now readily throw aside their first love or attachment. The new generation have no such sentiment'. To the first love, indeed, he remained steadfastly attached till the last day of his life.

Lord Curzon became more and more unpopular. The division of the ancient historic Province of Bengal into two separate provinces with separate capitals antagonized the entire population. A great protest meeting of Indians resident in the United Kingdom was promoted in London. Dadabhai presided.

Indians (he said) have unanimously, earnestly and emphatically declared that the system of rule they are now under should not continue to be. Let us consider

what that means. Our rulers—the officials—tell us we shall have no chance of ever becoming a self-governing country—that they will not give us an opportunity of preparing ourselves for it ... Now the Indian people have, for the first time, risen and declared that this thing shall not be. The rulers say, 'We shall rule, but only as foreign invaders with the result of draining the country of its wealth, and killing millions by famine and plague, and starving scores of millions by poverty, and destitution'. While the ruled are saying for the first time, 'that shall not be'. I am thankful that I have lived to see the birthday of the freedom of the Indian people.

The question arose: 'What would be the consequence of this open declaration of war between the rulers and the people?' Jhon Malcolm had prophesied that 'the evil' carried with it the seeds of the destruction of the Empire itself. Thomas Munro had said that it would have been more desirable that they should have been expelled from India altogether than that the result of their system of government should be such an abasement of a whole people. John Bright had warned his countrymen: 'If there be a judgement of nations, as I believe there is as for individuals, our children, in no distant generations, must pay the penalty which we have purchased by neglecting our duty to the populations of India'. William Hunter had summed up the gist of one of his lectures in the words: 'We should have had an Indian Ireland multiplied fifty-fold on our hands'. Lord Hartington had pointed out that the only consequence of exclusion of Indians from the government of their own country could be to make them 'desirous of getting rid, in the first instance, of their European rulers'.

There is a duty on Indians themselves (said Dadabhai). They have declared that they will not be governed as slaves; now let them show a spirit of determination. I have very little doubt that, if the British public were once satisfied that India is determined to have self-government, it will be conceded. I may not live to see that blessed day, but I do not despair of that result being achieved.

On November 10 the Indians resident in the United Kingdom entertained Dadabhai and Gokhale at dinner. W. C. Bonnerjee proposed the toast of the evening. In responding to the toast, Dadabhai said, the Colonies were prospering with self-government whereas India was perishing without it. But the work of the last 52 years had not been thrown away.

Dadabhai had spoken (said Gokhale) with that overmastering force of conviction which comes from a lifelong and strenuous exertion on behalf of his countrymen. He is the only man who is entitled to speak in the terms in which he has addressed us. It never will be given to another—at any rate for some time to come—to occupy so large a place in the hearts of the people of India and that for more than half a century.

CHAPTER XXX

A RESTLESS PEN

As the tongue was alert and active, so was the pen hard at work and unwearied during all these years. Every stroke has its effect; Dadabhai would not miss a single opportunity to interest or influence people, individually or collectively, in the cause of his country. Scarcely a week passed when he did not write to the Press to criticize some high-handed action of Government, to ventilate a grievance, or to correct a wrong impression. A few selected letters out of hundreds pertaining to this period bear testimony to this fact.

To Martin Wood

April 4, 1897

The fact is that had Englishmen any such or even a tenth of our grievances, they would not only have spoken hundred times harder words but . . . would have gone to hard deeds.

To Romesh Dutt

July 5, 1903

The time is come when an agitation must be begun for self-government under British paramountcy. The work will be slow, but every effort needs to be concentrated on this purpose.

To Wacha

July 27, 1905

We are not yet quite prepared to bite, it is true, unless the vice of the rule so much intensifies as to lead people to nihilism. But our present weapon is to bark as loudly as we can and as frequently as possible. The demand that we must have self government must be ever present and roaring all over India.

To Hyndman

October 1, 1904

In our work, one factor is very necessary—Englishmen themselves to denounce the evils of the present system.

One Englishman like you denouncing the system will produce more influence in the minds of the British public. . .

Hyndman to Dadabhai

February 2, 1905

Whether you survive me, or I you, it is certain that so long as my pen can write and my tongue can speak, the many scores of millions who are being ground down to death under our merciless rule will not lack a champion, such as he is, in this country. I live now in the hope of seeing the overthrow of our infamous system.

To Sir George Birdwood

December 30, 1904

You think that, had we been closer in earlier days, you might have made me a Conservative. Perhaps it might have been the other way, and I might have made you a Radical!

To The Right Reverend Henry Codman Potter

May 14, 1900

In a telegram from New York you are reported to have said, at a meeting held at the Chamber of Commerce, that 'the famine was in one sense due to good government. Great Britain had stopped tribal warfare and slaughter and, in consequence, population increased'. This, Sir, is the usual Anglo-Indian romance. The reality is quite different—namely, that the fundamental cause of 'the extreme poverty' of Indians, with its natural consequences of famines, plagues, and every kind of misery, is the destructive system of government of a bleeding foreign domination.

Bishop of New York to Dadabhai

May 28, 1900

I do not find myself in agreement with the position you maintain with reference to the English occupancy of India. There was no order, nor safety for life or property, nor freedom of person in India until England went there. As a native Indian of high rank recently said to me in Madras, 'We have all that you Americans fought for—

life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness ; and if British power were to take itself away from India tomorrow, we should have bloodshed, chaos and internecine warfare in endless varieties'. I confess, for myself, that the people who are saved from these things should, in my judgment, pay the bill for them.

Dadabhai to Bishop of New York

June 10, 1900

Both you and the Madras gentleman do not seem to have studied and considered the other side. I must say a few words of facts with reference to your statement that 'we should pay the bill'. We should pay for having been forced to pay every farthing (excepting a very few part payments for very shame) for all the wars and other circumstances from the very beginning of the English connection, for building up and maintaining the British Indian Empire entirely at our own cost and mainly with our blood ..with the reward of being reduced to helotry and beggary! We should pay for bleeding us and carrying away clean out of the country hundreds of millions and continue to drain incessantly and unceasingly, or we should pay for what the Viceroy and Famine Commissioners sanction . . . We should pay for impoverishing us to an extent to which probably no nation has impoverished another ! We should pay for all the consequences of such 'other improvements' as famines, plagues . . . and a chronic state of starvation . . . ! We should pay for the security of our property which, in the most ingenious, scientific and unseen way, is taken away from us by the protectors ! We should pay for the security of our lives, which are not left worth living, by providing us with starvation, famines, pestilence, etc. ! We should pay for the full liberty we enjoy to starve and perish . . . ! We should pay for official Europeans bleeding us, and non-official Europeans exploiting our land and labour and natural resources . . . ! In short, we should pay for a destructive and dishonourable system of government violating Acts of Parliament and the most solemn pledges that ever a people gave to another.

To J. N. Tata

September 16, 1902

Is it not possible for you to raise the million you want from the Indian Princes? To me it is a matter of grief that you should become the instrument of enabling foreigners to carry away the natural wealth of India with the only benefit of some thousands of Indians earning a livelihood. To my mind, it is a great injury to India. I would rather that this wealth remained buried than that it should be carried away by other people... I hope you will take it in the spirit in which I am writing it.

Tata explained that he would be only too willing to follow Dadabhai's advice if Indian friends could help him in raising the required capital in British India and the Indian States at about the same rate of interest which he would have to pay in England. Dadabhai worked whole-heartedly in that direction.

I am so glad (wrote Tata on February 20, 1903) that once more I have your support in my Iron and Steel project. I will not conceal from you my belief that in order to accomplish what both you and I hold desirable—namely, starting Iron Works with as far as possible Indian capital wholly—I shall need all the powerful support that men in your position and with recognized service to our country can extend. Things are still in an experimental stage; my experts are working, and I am determined not to invite subscriptions of capital, until by a trial-plant, costing something like 4 or 5 lakhs, I have felt sure of success.

It was not given to the greatest Indian industrialist of the day to see the results of his splendid scheme to raise India to the status of one of the greatest industrial countries of the world. He died before the scheme had passed through the experimental stage. When, however, it materialized, and when capital was invited from the public (August 1907), the Tata offices in Bombay were besieged from early morning till late at night by crowds of investors. At the end of three weeks every rupee of the entire capital required at the time was contributed by Indian investors.

To Wacha

October 19, 1905

I hope the Bengalees will keep up the Boycott Movement -- and will now be awakened to the necessity of taking their Industries in their own hands and by their own capital. This Swadeshi movement must have proved very advantageous to the Bombay mills. The home consumption of India alone ought to supply an immense market for all that the mills can produce. I wonder whether Lancashire being boycotted will retaliate by not providing India with machinery for new mills and repairs for old ones. Can India undertake to start factories to prepare the machinery?

To Bal Gangadhar Tilak

April 16, 1897

I have read with much grief that some unfortunate collision has taken place between the Government and the Sarvajanik Sabha. It is a misfortune; we in our political condition cannot afford that an institution, built up by the efforts of the Poona people for more than a generation should be swept away in a breath... I hope you will do all you can to save the *Sabha*.

To Surendranath Banerjea

August 23, 1900

I wish to write to you, and I am writing the same to Mr Motilal Ghose, that I am grieved to note the differences that are going on between the *Patrika* and the *Bengalee*. We cannot afford such quarrelling among ourselves.

CHAPTER XXXI

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

DURING the middle of the nineteenth century South Africa was the El Dorado of European settlers. They had all that they wanted, but the local labour was unsatisfactory. The British planters of Natal, therefore, approached the Government of India for facilities in obtaining Indian labour. The first batch of indentured labourers from Calcutta and Madras reached Natal on November 16, 1860. On that day was sown the seed of disunion and discord between the European and Indian population throughout South Africa.

With the indentured labourers went petty Indian traders and their free servants to Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Cape Colony. Simple in their mode of life, they generally flourished. Most of the indentured labourers set up, after having served their terms, as agriculturists, small craftsmen, or traders. This was not, however, what the white colonists had looked for. They had merely called for labourers who should drudge for them perpetually, or leave the country after a stipulated period. 'If India continued to pour into the Colony even a few thousands every year where would they stand within a few years? 'Away with the Asiatics!' became their watchword.

Some of them suggested the compulsory repatriation of the indentured labourers; others advocated the imposition of a heavy annual capitation tax at the end of the first term of five years, so as to force them back under indenture. The Government of India, however, would not listen to such iniquitous proposals, and Natal, being a Crown Colony, could not easily secure the consent of the British Government to any measure infringing the rights of Indians as British citizens. A movement was, therefore, set on foot to attain responsible government, which was eventually conferred on Natal in 1893.

In the Transvaal there was a similar movement to shut

out Indians. It being an independent Republic, some of the leading Indians approached President Kruger. He would not so much as admit them to his house. British citizenship had no value in this Republic. There was then in existence a treaty between the Boers and the British, known as the London Convention, which provided for equal treatment in the eye of the law for all persons residing in the Republic save and except natives of the place. Despite this treaty, in the year 1885, a very drastic law was rushed through the Volksraad, which required every Indian settling in the Republic for purposes of trade to register, on payment of £25. It also debarred Indians from holding land. The registration fee was subsequently reduced to £3 ; the clause disqualifying Indians from holding landed property was also removed, but it was provided that Indians could acquire fixed property only in such locations, as were set apart specially for their residence by the Transvaal Government. The locations selected for these 'untouchables' were situated away from the towns, with no water supply, no sanitary conveniences, no lighting arrangements. Trade jealousy was the main cause of such treatment, but it was sought to be justified on 'urgent sanitary grounds'.

The treatment given to Indians in the Orange Free State was worse. A stringent law provided that no Indian could, on any account, hold fixed property, or carry on mercantile or farming business, or enjoy franchise rights in the State. In exceptional cases, however, the authorities were graciously pleased to allow an Indian to reside there as a labourer or as a hotel waiter.

In Cape Colony, too, certain disabilities were attached to Indians. For instance, their children could not attend public schools. There were no restrictions as to trade and ownership of land for a long time, but in 1892 all coloured people, including British Indians, were deprived by legislation of their civic rights and privileges.

There was then no political or spiritual agitator to rouse the entire Indian community, against the deprivation of civil liberties and the imposition of disabilities repugnant to the spirit of British law. Nevertheless, some of the Indians

resident in the Colonies had sufficient self-respect to resist such encroachments on their rights of citizenship, Dadabhai took up the matter with Lord Rippon, who was then Colonial Secretary.

Indian merchants in Natal and the Transvaal also sent cablegram, and sought Dadabhai's help to secure the Queen's Empress's intervention in protection of her Indian subjects. Other letters followed concerning the position of Indian subjects in the South African Republic and the Orange Free State. Dadabhai faithfully passed on all communications to Lord Ripon with a request that he would do his best to do justice to the aggrieved parties. It was a matter which required delicate handling. Transvaal was not British territory. The South African Republic being an independent State, the matter was one which could only be dealt with by negotiation. At the same time, Lord Ripon, was making all possible diplomatic efforts to bring pressure on the South African authorities. In a letter, dated February 22, he asked Dadabhai to point out to the petitioners that the good offices of Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa had been repeatedly exercised on behalf of the British Indian merchants in the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, and that it was the desire of Government that the Queen's Indian subjects should be treated upon a footing of equality with all her other subjects. The South African authorities were not, however, in a mood to listen until there appeared on the scene a sagacious leader who taught his countrymen in that far-off land, powerless as they were, the secret of the efficacy of soul-force in winning a victory for the Truth, without recourse to violence.

It was a purely professional visit which took Mahatma Gandhi from India to South Africa in April 1893. The hardships he encountered during the journey on railway trains, the indignities to which he was subjected, and even the assaults made on him, all because he was an Indian, so disgusted him that his first impulse was to quit the country forthwith. But what about the professional engagement? Could he return without fulfilling it? While he was still undecided, he was pushed out of the train one night by a European police constable at Maritzburg. Late that night

he came to the conclusion that it would be a cowardly act to hasten back to India. He, therefore proceeded to Pretoria, pocketing further insults, and attended to his professional work.

Just as he was preparing to return to India, early in the year 1894, Gandhiji found that the Government of Natal was about to introduce a Bill to disfranchise Indians. He advised them to resist strongly such an encroachment on their rights. 'Stay and help us', they prayed. The same night he drew up a petition to be presented to the Legislative Council. Then he founded the Natal Indian Congress, and carried on an agitation not only in South Africa but also in England against the iniquities of the authorities. Weekly letters were written to Dadabhai, as member and to Weddenburn, as Chairman, of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

The first letter (July 5, 1894), written by Gandhiji to Dadabhai embodied a strikingly modest personal explanation.

I am yet inexperienced and young and therefore quite liable to make mistakes. The responsibility undertaken is quite out of proportion to my ability. I am doing this without any remuneration. So you will see that I have not taken the matter up, which is beyond my ability, in order to enrich myself at the expense of the Indians. I am the only available person who can handle the question. You will, therefore, oblige me very greatly if you will kindly direct and guide me and make necessary suggestions which shall be received as from a father to his child.

Several traders and their lawyers also wrote to Dadabhai, soliciting his intervention in cases of hardship, and he scrupulously attended to all such complaints. On August 29, 1895, a deputation organized by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress waited upon Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office. Dadabhai had drawn up, for the occasion, a statement of grievances and circulated copies of it broadcast. The Colonial Secretary promised to make and, if necessary, to repeat representations to the Transvaal Government and do whatever was possible. For two years

Dadabhai had been in constant communication with the authorities, but with very little practical result. Eventually came a letter from Downing Street (November 13, 1897) to the effect that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr Chamberlain, was not prepared to advise Her Majesty to exercise the powers of disallowance with respect to the Natal Acts regarding franchise, but that he was in communication with the Government of Natal on the subject of preservation of the rights of those Indians who were already resident in the Colony when the Immigration Act was passed. By this time Gandhiji had returned to India and apprised the public of the condition of their fellow countrymen in South Africa. His pamphlet on the subject and his speeches in Bombay, Poona, Madras, and Calcutta created a profound impression, and the whole case was presented to lord George Hamilton in December 1896 in a memorial drawn up by Pheroza Shah Mehta.

It did not, however, stop the legislative machines in South Africa from turning out piece after piece of legislation fastening fresh legal disabilities on the Indians residing in the land.

Dadabhai felt that his role in this affair was mainly that of a postman carrying letters from the South African correspondents to the British authorities, but he was more than a letter-carrier ; he was an indefatigable advocate, as well. Not a single opportunity was lost to urge on the British authorities to do everything possible in the matter. They, on the other hand, pleaded justification for their policy of drift on the ground that whatever they might do might be undone by the Colonies soon afterwards, as they were to obtain self-government very shortly. It was characteristic of Gandhiji that, despite such experience, he raised a Stretcher Bearer Corps for service with the Natal troops, when the Zulu rebellion broke out in 1906. The corps consisting of twentyfive men was on active service for a month, when telegrams and letters poured in asking Gandhiji to proceed at once to the Transvaal, which had become the storm centre of South Africa. He hastened to Johannesburg and wrote to Dadabhai several letters regarding developments. Dadabhai ploddingly passed on

all communications to Lord Elgin, who had succeeded Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary, with fervent appeals for equitable treatment. Meanwhile storm clouds were gathering over the horizon. The Indian community in South Africa was indignant on perusing the draft Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance published in the *Transvaal Government Gazette Extraordinary* of August 22. It required every Indian, man, woman or child of eight years or upwards, entitled to reside in the Transvaal, to register his or her name with the Registrar of Asiatics and to take out a certificate of registration. The Registrar was to note down important marks of identification upon the applicant's person, and to take his finger and thumb impressions. Failure to apply for registration was made an offence punishable with fine, imprisonment or deportation, within the discretion of the Court.

Outrageous as was the requisition for the registration of women and children, the requirements regarding complete finger-prints, as though they were criminals, was the most abnoxious. 'If any one came forward to demand a certificate from my wife', said one of the prominent members of the Indian community in the Transvaal, at a meeting held to discuss the situation, 'I would shoot him on the spot and take the consequences'. It was resolved not to submit to the Ordinance if it became law and to start Passive Resistance, should all constitutional remedies fail. A deputation consisting of Gandhiji and H.O. Ally of Ali Brothers & Co., proceeded to England. They met Dadabhai and through him were introduced to the British Committee of the Congress.

A first-class crisis had arisen. Tired of submitting fruitless petitions, Dadabhai welcomed the decision of the Indians in South Africa to offer passive resistance to the Transvaal Government. He advised the two delegates how they could secure the co-operation of British and Indian friends in obtaining redress, if possible, by constitutional means. The deputation waited on Lord Elgin and Lord Morley, who were, however, not in a position to comfort them with anything more concrete than assurances. Before leaving England, the delegates entertained at breakfast

Dadabhai and other British friends who had helped them in their work. They also sent him a special letter, thanking him for his presence at the deputation to Lord Elgin in spite of the inclemency of the weather, and for the great support he had given to their cause.

The Asiatic Registration Act was rushed through all its stages at a single sitting of the Transvaal Parliament on March 21, 1907. It was to take effect from July 1, 1907, and Gandhiji had little time to think of anything except the historic struggle on which the Indian Community was to embark under his leadership.

Dadabhai took the earliest opportunity to stir the whole of India to do everything possible to end the troubles of their unhappy brethren in those Colonies. 'I recommend your serious notice', he said in his presidential address to the Calcutta Congress, 'the treatment of British Indians in South Africa'. *India*, too, kept for years the South African problem in the forefront.

It is a remarkable evidence of the value which the British Indian community in South Africa attached to Dadabhai's services in the agitation that had been carried on in England on its behalf that even when failing health had compelled him to live the life of a recluse at Versova, the Transvaal Indians approached him in July 1909 for his lead 'as the father of the Indian Nation that is to be'. They presented to him a petition and through him appealed to the whole of India for support to their petitions for the removal of the colour-bar. Dadabhai had interviews with Mr Polak who brought with him the letter of the British Indian Association to the Grand Old Man. A public meeting was held in Bombay on September 14, 1909. Dadabhai could not attend it, but in a message he said: 'I have all along sympathized deeply with the troubles of our countrymen in South Africa and the present meeting has my fullest sympathy in its objects'.

Those troubles, indeed, preyed heavily on his mind. In his letters to friends and public messages he referred to them now and again, and in his eighty-ninth birthday message to the people he expressed his 'deep concern at the indifferent

way' in which the Imperial Government had been treating the question.

At last, the orderly, non-violent and chivalrous manner in which the stupendous struggle was carried on by the soldiers of the *Satyagraha* army extorted the admiration even of the authorities whom they were fighting. They recanted in the middle of the year 1914 : the dispute was settled to the satisfaction of the forces of *Satyagraha*. Dadabhai saw in it ample justification for his life-long contention that there is no such thing on this earth as a settled fact and that persistent agitation in a good cause must wear out all obstacles. The victorious general of the *Satyagraha* campaign returned to India, little dreaming that within a short time he was to be the hero of still more stupendous *Satyāgraha* struggles in his own motherland !

CHAPTER XXXII

NORTH LAMBETH

AFTER he had given his evidence before the Royal Commission, Dadabhai thought it was time he should look round for a constituency. An invitation came from South Hackney in March 1899, but sufficient evidence of prospects for success was not forthcoming.

In June 1901 Dadabhai went to North Lambeth at the invitation of the Liberal and Radical Association of that constituency. On August 29 the Secretary of the Political Council of the local Liberal and Radical Club informed him that the Council had unanimously adopted him as their candidate for the Parliamentary division of North Lambeth. On the same day the Secretary of the North Lambeth Branch of the National Democratic League reported to him that the League had unanimously adopted him as their candidate. He was also adopted as Parliamentary candidate for the constituency at a conference of delegates from nineteen Industrial, Trade Unionist, and Temperance organizations.

The prospects seemed rosy, but Dadabhai soon discovered that difficulties similar to those encountered at Central Finsbury were to dog his footsteps in this constituency also. There was a split in the North Lambeth Liberal and Radical Association. Some favoured W. Wightman, a local candidate; others backed Dadabhai. At a meeting of the Association, on November 26, the names of both Wightman and Naoroji were submitted. Sixty-six votes were cast in Dadabhai's favour against fifty-nine for Wightman. In his letter communicating the result the Secretary to the Association pointed out that the selection should not be considered final until ratified at a subsequent meeting by at least a two-thirds vote of the members present and confirmed by a public meeting called for that purpose.

Within a fortnight there were fresh developments. To cut a long story short, what had happened at central Fins-

bury, happened in Lambeth. On April 10, Dadabhai received a letter from the Secretary of the Association, inquiring whether he would submit his claims to the Liberal Whip, Herbert Gladstone, 'for the purpose of arbitration by three gentlemen appointed by him, one of whom should be a Labour Member'. Dadabhai refused. Absolutely unperturbed, Dadabhai went his way, making a house to house canvass. Advancing age made no difference to him. If anything, he appeared to get more virile and more militant as he grew older.

When the time for the elections was drawing near, Wightman died but the opposition to Dadabhai still continued. The hostile members of the Liberal and Radical Association were bent upon bringing another Liberal candidate into the field. It was a ruthless attempt to rob Dadabhai of the fruit of his long and arduous toil in the constituency. Martin Wood appealed to the Central Liberal organization at Westminster not to allow such iniquitous proceedings at North Lambeth. The Council of the Liberal and Radical Club also sent a deputation to headquarters to point out that Dadabhai had been already in the field on the party ticket and that the London Liberal Federation should deprecate any attempt to put forward a new 'official' candidate. The Lambeth Association was thereupon asked to accept Dadabhai as its sole candidate. Corrie Grant, the Chairman of the Federation, specially attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Association to urge this line of action, but he found that even at the risk of splitting the vote, Dadabhai's opponents were determined to go forward. Horatio Myer, a bedstead manufacturer, who had a long record of civic service as well as a long purse, was selected as Parliamentary candidate.

Dadabhai's address to the electors was issued on January 4. 'I am a labour man in the truest sense of the word', he said, and when I was in Parliament, I supported the labour cause, which is also the Liberal cause and the cause of the whole community. I am in accord with the programme of the principal Labour organizations'.

The electors, however, showed that they were more con-

cerned about their local wants than the needs of India. They returned Myer to Parliament. He received 2,162 votes, against 733 votes polled by Dadabhai.

How gracefully he took his defeat is shown by the following observation in the *South London Press* (January 20) :

Mr Naoroji is generous. Questioned as to the result of the North Lambeth election, he remarked that he had nothing to say except that he was pleased that a Liberal had won the seat.

CHAPTER XXXIII

CALCUTTA CONGRESS

THE time for the twenty-second session of the Congress was drawing near. It was an occasion for stock-taking. With the coming of age of the national political organization of the country, had India obtained her birth-right? If not, did not the 'mendicant policy' of the elders stand condemned as barren? That at any rate, was the opinion of young India. A conflict, therefore, arose over the question of ideals and methods of work. Young India demanded a proper constitution and a vitalizing programme for the Congress—a reconstitution of the political life of the country. The 'old-world politicians', paid no heed to this demand. It was, however, not a mere emotional conflict; it was essentially an intellectual conflict, a conflict of ideology. Self-government under British paramountcy was the goal of the old school; the ideal of the new school was national autonomy, freedom from all foreign control.

This antithesis between the viewpoints of the two sections showed a revolutionary change in the mind of the people. Indeed, for the rulers, it marked a dangerous phase in the political education of the country, and it caused no little concern among official circles and the European community generally. For a long period the British and the Anglo-Indian Press had affected supreme unconcern about the manifestations of political unrest in India, but they could not now ignore the striking change that had come over the country. The ranks of the national party had been reinforced by discontented youths as to whose temper there could be little doubt. The fulminations of the Congress, though provoking, had been practically harmless. Despite twenty-one years of hard and apparently vain patriotic toil, its leaders and members as a class had amazingly adhered to its fundamental principles of loyalty and constitutional methods. In that sort of agitation there was no menace to British

supremacy. But the young rebels were determined to give a blow to that supremacy.

There was, however, no desire as yet, except among a handful of revolutionaries, to appeal to force. That would have been suicidal. There was, however, such a weapon as boycott to which, thought the young enthusiasts, they could safely resort—boycott of British goods and, if need be, of the Councils. They believed they could, without going beyond the law and the Constitution, bring the authorities to their knees by refusing to associate with Government and by withholding from it all voluntary and honorary service; and they defied any one to say that their ideal was not legitimate or that their method was not constitutional.

Such was the conflict between the two sections—the moderates and the extremists, as they were called, during the year 1906. The question which then agitated them most was: who should be the President of the Congress for that year? The elders were in danger of being swamped by the Bengal delegates, the extremists, favouring the selection of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who had suffered imprisonment in his fight for freedom. The Bengal leaders, Surendranath Banerjea and Bhupendranath Basu, however, forestalled the Tilakites by asking Dadabhai by cable whether in the event of his being elected as President, he would accept the office. They were confident that even the most rabid extremist would not think of opposing the nomination of one whose life had been given wholly to the country, who had stirred the hearts of his countrymen for two generations, who had the knack of bringing together conflicting forces and making them operate towards one end, whose word carried unequalled authority, and who was revered throughout the land. The weather-beaten pilot, over whose head the storms of no less than eighty-one years had swept, did not for a moment pause to consider the hardships of the voyage, the danger to his health, or of the much greater risk of offending one party or the other, or both, and damaging his reputation as the Nestor of Indian politics. He was loved and revered as the Grand Old Man of India, but he had not yet ceased to be the ideal young man of India. With the

ardour and optimism of youth, he promptly replied that he would accept the office.

Even from the point of view of the extremists, no more felicitous selection could have been made. Not merely because in Dadabhai the congress had secured a President of ripe experience, but also because he occupied a position much nearer the advanced wing of the Congress than any one of the moderate party. He was neither a moderate, nor an extremist, he had never hesitated to speak freely in the language of his heart and he was not the man to lower the standard with a view to placating one side or the other. After the repressive regime of Lord Curzon, his words invariably breathed fire. He had already asserted and could assert over again what the extremists had been urging. True, he was one of those who still believed in a constitutional struggle for progressive expansion of political freedom and whose ambition stopped short at placing India on a level with the self-governing colonies. But he was no longer the same submissive supplicant that he was in his earlier years, praying for justice before the bar of British public opinion.

In the course of several speeches Dadabhai had urged, for more than three years, that self-government alone could bring prosperity to any country. Once more in his message to Gokhale, on the eve of the 1905 Congress, he had asserted that no palliatives of any kind whatever, no mere alteration and tinkering of the mechanical machinery of administration can or will do any good at all . . .

Simultaneously with the official invitation, Dadabhai received a letter of welcome from Motilal Ghose—rather tear-stained, for with the note of welcome was blended a wail concerning the woes of Bengal. Giving a recital of the arbitrary acts of Government he related in what an excited state of mind the people of Bengal were at the moment and pointed out how sharp the deplorable cleavage between the two factions was. It required considerable courage to step into the breach ; the chances of reconciliation were remote, but Dadabhai had already agreed to enter the arena of the strife. He definitely arranged to leave London on November 29.

The Calcutta Congress was the largest political gathering witnessed in India. The address of welcome delivered by Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was typical of the views of the advanced section of Congressmen. He stoutly defended *Swadeshi* and Boycott. The keynote of Dadabhai's address was *Swaraj*. He had been claiming it for some years past as the only solution for the ills of India. That was, however, the first occasion when the demand was made from the Congress platform, and it thrilled the audience and the whole country from end to end. It was time, said Dadabhai, that they should carefully consider what the position of Indians then was and what their future should be.

Were they British citizens or not? The moment Indians came under the British flag, they became free British citizens and their rights as such were beyond question. They had every reason to claim all British rights as their birth-right and also as rights solemnly pledged to them. Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all services, departments and details was in the hands of the people of that country, so should it be in India. As in the United Kingdom and the Colonies all taxation and legislation and all power of spending the taxes were in the hands of the representatives of the people, so should it be in India, and the financial relations between England and India must be adjusted on a footing of equality.

We do not ask any favours (he added). We want only justice. The whole matter can be comprised in one word—'Self-government', or *Sawraj*, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies.†

The whole machinery of Indian government could not certainly be broken up and the system of self-government introduced all at once. The time had, however, arrived for the transfer to begin.

Since my early efforts, he added, I must say that I have felt so many disappointments as would be sufficient to break any heart and lead one to despair and even, I am afraid, to rebel . . . But I have not despaired . . . Within the short life that may be yet vouchsafed to me, I hope to see a loyal, honest, honourable, and conscientious

adoption of the policy of self-government for India—and a beginning made at once towards that end.

Turning then to the burning questions of the day, Dadabhai condemned the Bengal partition as a 'bad blunder for England'. He hoped it would yet be rectified. *Swadeshi* was not a new thing. It had existed in Bombay for many years past. 'I am a free trader', he added. 'I am a member, and in the Executive Committee of the Cobden Club for twenty years, and yet I say that *Swadeshi* is a forced necessity for India in its unnatural economic muddle. As long as the economic condition remains unnatural and impoverishing . . . the talk of applying economic laws to the condition of India is adding insult to injury'. Then followed a fervent appeal for a thorough political union among people of all creeds and classes.

It was meant to be, and was really, a conciliatory speech. There was not a word in it which was in any sense inflammatory. Strongly controversial topics such as the question of *Swadeshi* were disposed of in a few sentences; the boycott was not even mentioned. For once, the usual language of the heart was not there. The air was, therefore, loud with debate as to where Dadabhai stood and how far he would allow the advanced party to proceed. That party had by no means got what it wanted. There was scarcely anything in the address to bridge the gulf between the two parties. Instead of recommending any change in methods and tactics, the President had once more adjured his countrymen to put their faith in the British people's sense of justice and fair-play, and to tread the same old path which, it seemed, led nowhere. On the other hand, the moderates were pleased. The demand for *Swaraj* under British paramountcy, tempered with advice to persevere in the same old path of constitutional agitation, vindicated the attitude taken up by the members of the old school. The *Bengalee* hailed the Presidential address as the political gospel of the new era.

There were violent scenes at the Subjects Committee meeting over the refusal to submit resolutions for extending boycott all over India. Some of the extremists left the meeting, headed by Bepin Chandra Pal and Khaparde. There

was, for a while, jubilation in the anti-Congress camp, but those who welcomed the split were amazed to find a display of an unanimity at the Congress session. There was heated discussion, no doubt, on the resolution moved by Ambica Charan Muzamdar, seconded by Pal, that the boycott movement, inaugurated in Bengal, by way of protest against the partition of that Province, 'was and is legitimate'. The extremists put their own interpretation on the resolution, claiming that it applied to the whole country, and the moderates interpreted it as confined to Bengal only.

A united front had, however, to be presented. Tilak had the patriotism and the statesmanship to realize it. "Despite his disappointment, he struck a refreshing note of unity. Supporting the *Swadeshi* resolution, he said he was glad that they had arrived at a satisfactory solution, because their Anglo-Indian friends had predicted that the twenty-second Congress would meet with premature death immediately after the attainment of the age of majority. The prediction, however, had been falsified under the able, impartial, and judicious guidance of the veteran leader in the Chair. All differences, continued Tilak, had been squared; both parties had approached the question in a spirit of conciliation and met halfway.

CHAPTER XXXIV

RETURN HOME

THE split in the Congress camp was for the time being healed, the Congress session was brought to a peaceful termination. It was the general opinion that the difficult mission, courageously undertaken by Dadabhai, had been creditably accomplished. With that satisfaction he returned to London, on February 8, to continue his fight for freedom, but the strain had been too great for a frame enfeebled by the wear and tear of more than fifty years of strenuous public life. He was no longer the same young man at eighty-one that he was before he had embarked on that mission.

'I am in the best of health', was Dadabhai's reply to a question put to him by a representative of the *Tribune* who had called on him on his birthday on September 4, 1906. 'I am a little uncomfortable at having to wear a Russel-cord coat when I would prefer a muslin jacket, with a shirt of the same material. Otherwise I should love this heat, which is reminiscent of my own country'.

To what do you attribute your good condition? (asked the journalist).

To life-long abstinence (said Dadabhai), to avoiding tobacco, to eschewing spices and condiments and to working hard. I breakfast at 8-30. Then I write at home until it is time to go to the office. From 11 until 7-45 I labour there, after which I dine. I walk for about an hour and then continue my work until midnight. My correspondence with India is enormous.

That youthful vigour and energy had gone—gone never to return again. Soon after his arrival in London he was prostrated by an attack of bronchitis, which caused great anxiety to his friends. There was a slight recovery in the first week of March; on April 26 *India* announced the cheering news that the patient had greatly improved in health. A change at Bexhill-on-Sea led to further improvement. His

medical advisers were however, of opinion, and it was also the wish of his British friends, that he should retire from public life and spend his last days in his motherland, there to be supported by the tenderness and care of his dear ones and cheered by the love and blessings of his countrymen.

Dadabhai, however, felt that his work for his country had not yet been completed. He had just launched a fresh crusade for obtaining self-government, and he was loath to leave his place in the fighting line before a single decisive battle had been won.

Dadabhai was removed to a nursing home in South Norwood. Here he gradually gained strength and was bearing up as well as he could for the long journey. The strong will-power, serene disposition, and buoyant spirit, which had sustained him in all his struggles, displayed themselves at their best during this illness. On October 11, the day fixed for commencing the journey, the sun shone brightly with the warmth of a mid-September day. Dadabhai was taken in an easy running motor car to Tilbury, and transferred to his berth in the *S. S. Moldavia*. The members of the London Indian Society had assembled there to present to him a farewell address. Although Dadabhai had stood the fatigue well, it would have been an ordeal for him to receive and reply to the address. It was, therefore, received by his grandson, Jal Naoroji, on his behalf.

Although Dadabhai was leaving England for good, the members of the Society wished that he should continue to be its President. Dadabhai would not consent. They then asked him to allow his name to be associated with the Society as Honorary President. Dadabhai agreed, but not without hesitation. He had seen young Indians in England drawn into something like a spirit of revolt. He had met in Calcutta several ardent young exponents of the gospel of violence. They looked upon violence as the only effective weapon of political protest. Dadabhai feared that that gospel would spread throughout India and that it would also captivate Indians resident in England. It was quite possible that youths stirred by the new doctrines, subversive of the policy of non-violence he had always advocated, would capture the

Society. He unburdened his mind to his suecessor, J. M. Parikh, and told him that the moment the Society countenanced voilence, his name should be removed from its roll. 'My honour', said he, 'is in your hands'.

With these parting words quietly disappered from English public life the illustrious Indian who had spent himself in his country's service. During half a century he had incessantly grappled with hard facts and figures concerning the woe-ful condition of his country and presented them to the British public, as none before him had done, and had done everything possible to bring England and India together. A glowing tribute paid to him by Wedderburn on the occasion was accorded a prominent place in the *Daily News* of October 17.

After a fairly comfortable voyage, Dadabhai reached Aden on November 8, where he had a conversation with the leading citizens of Aden. His health, however, seemed to give way during the voyage from Aden to Bombay; all demonstrations to greet him at the Apollo Bunder had, therefore, to be abandoned, and he was taken quietly from the docks to his residence at Versova.

The first greeting Dadabhai received, as soon as the steamer entered the Bombay harbour, was from the Governor of Bombay, Sir George Clarke (afterwards Lord Sydenham). It cheered him up. During the second week of January the people of India heard with great satisfaction that Dadabhai had completely recovered from his illness. With the return of bodily strength his mind became active and alert as before. He did a lot of reading throughout the day, insisted on attending personally to all correspondence and pored over newspapers for hours together to keep himself acquainted with what was happening in the world generally and in India particularly.

The eighty-fourth year of the Grand Old Man was an occasion for special thanksgiving. The veteran who had passed through a critical illness had been spared to spend the closing years of his life in his native land. He was in excellent health, was receiving visitors in the afternoon, going out for a drive every evening and enjoying reading books

and newspapers and writing letters to his friends in India and England. 'Dadabhai Day' was, therefore, celebrated with more than usual enthusiasm all over India. On this occasion also, the first to send him his greetings was Sir George Clarke. 'I hope', said he, 'you will be spared to see the passing of some of the clouds which darken the Indian sky and threaten the peaceful progress of the people'. Dadabhai in return expressed his belief that the clouds would disperse and that a change for the better would take place if the necessary reforms were undertaken in time, restoring that faith in British justice which he always had and which he prayed India might 'always have good cause to cherish'.

CHAPTER XXXV

RADIANT IN RETIREMENT

THROUGHOUT the year 1908 the bark of Indian politics was drifting in stormy waters. There was a definite split in the Congress camp, and the national organization was in imminent danger of being completely captured by the extremist section. Two different types of unrest combined to unnerve the authorities—one, the unrest of loyal subjects dissatisfied with Government for their failure to discharge their obligations to the people; the other, the unrest fomented by doctrines subversive of order and threatening the basis of constitutional society. It is unnecessary to refer to the outrages that followed. Those outbursts of violence on the part of the young rebels of the day were met by Government with repression. Repression however, failed to repress and engendered new forces of disorder. The grim monster of anarchism followed in its wake, compelling Government to take further repressive measures.

The Radical of one generation is apt to become the Tory of the next and to look askance at the forward movement of that generation. This could not be said of Dadabhai. While the other political leaders disowned and denounced the forward section, his sympathies were with them. His hopes were centred not so much in his immediate followers as the youth of the country stirred by national consciousness and patriotic fervour. At the same time, he stoutly deprecated violence. In his message of thanks to his countrymen for the numerous proofs of their goodwill he stated :

I take this opportunity to entreat that all resort to violence should be avoided. Our grievances are many. Maintain the struggle for essential reforms, with necessary endeavours and self-sacrifice, peacefully, patiently and perseveringly, and appeal without fear or faltering to the conscience and righteousness of the British nation.

This message marked the opening of a new chapter in the story of Dadabhai's life. It heralded, so to stay, the rebirth of his political life. He was now blest with sufficient physical and mental vigour to follow with interest, almost as intense as before, the progress of events in the country and once more to express his views and exert his influence thereon. The announcement of the Morley-Minto Reforms called to memory Morley's own words : Every single right thing that is done by the legislature, however moderate may be its area, every single right thing is sure to lead to the doing of a great number of unforeseen right things'.

'What has now been accomplished', wrote Wedderburn to Dadabhai, 'and what we trust must follow, is the result of persistent constitutional effort, and there is no one who has done as much as you have during all these dark years, to keep your countrymen in this safe path of progress.... It is interesting to look back to our Minority Report, and to see how many of our recommendations (which Lord George Hamilton did not even deign to notice!) have now been adopted.'

The Reforms marked the first step of the authorities along the path of justice. The best way to accelerate the pace of progress along that road, thought Dadabhai, was to encourage the statesmen who had taken that courageous step. He, therefore, wrote a personal letter to Lord Morley and Lord Minto, stating that their declaration of the Reforms had justified his faith in British character and had strengthened it 'after many a cruel disappointment bordering on despair'.

The fundamental reform, the holding of simultaneous examinations in India and in England for admission to the Civil Service had, however, been overlooked. In his letter to Lord Minto and Lord Morley Dadabhai therefore, observed that India had not yet obtained 'the absolutely necessary reforms without which all other reforms would be more or less ineffective'. In a lengthy appendix he gave extracts from the speeches and writings of English statesmen and administrators from 1764 to 1903. The consequences of the evils inseparable from the prevailing system of administration were then enumerated.

The letter and its appendices consisted of eighty typed sheets. But this was not all. In the following year (April 23, 1910) was issued from the sanctum of the 'political recluse' another communication, dealing with the financial aspect of the problem and giving tables made up from official records, 'to further illustrate the aspects and consequences of the evils complained of'. Three months later, a further letter, giving trade statistics and other details, was sent to complete the picture of the condition of India under foreign domination. These epistles and the appendices attached to them made up, one might say, an abridged edition of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, revised up to date and annotated in the light of events subsequent to its compilation !

Despite these excursions in the arena of controversial politics, this period of Dadabhai's life may be said to be one of comparative quiet and tranquillity.

The extremist section regarded the reforms as a concession to violence. Further reforms, they believed, could only be wrung from unwilling hands by further violence. In his eighty-fifth birthday message, therefore, Dadabhai reverted to his counsel of non-violence.

A deplorable outrage has taken place in the assassination of Sir Curzon Wylie—who was a friend to Indians. It is only a sad consolation that another Indian, D. Lalkaka, redeemed the Indian character with his life. Those who resort to violence inflict the greatest injury to the Indian cause.

With Valentine Chirol of the Foreign Department of *The Times* who came to India to study the political situation on the spot Dadabhai had a long interview. A note in Dadabhai's own hand tells us, 'gave copy of correspondence with Lord Morley and Lord Minto, also copy of extract from letter to Lord George Hamilton'.

The announcement that King George V intended to revisit India to make known in person to his subjects his succession to the Imperial Crown of India stimulated hopes for a peaceful settlement of the political conflict. On his arrival the King Emperor saw on every side the stirrings of new life. The interests of the people, he said, would always be as near and dear to him as those of his

subjects in other quarters of the globe. Six years before, he had sent from England a message of sympathy. On this occasion he gave to India the watchword of hope. 'Reading between the lines', said Dadabhai in his manifesto of September 26, 1912, 'of all the incidents, despatches, and events of this ever-memorable visit, it seems that there is thought out and determined upon a new evolution to secure the prosperity of the Indian people'. Thus through those passing phases his buoyant faith perceived the larger movements and charges that were to follow. But how to accelerate the pace towards the goal visualized by him? Dadabhai submitted that the King-Emperor's desire to give the Indian people the blessings of peace and prosperity could only be attained by giving self-government to India.

The fates, however, appeared to be against a peaceful approach to the cherished goal. To his horror Dadabhai heard of an attempt on the life of the good and great Viceroy and of Lady Hardinge at Delhi. It had a very depressing effect on him, but the appointment during the year of a Royal Commission on the Services in India filled him with hope. 'I pray', said he, in his birthday manifesto, 'that its work may result in securing to our country the justice that has been long delayed'.

By this time Versova had become a place of pilgrimage, not only for loving and admiring Indians and Englishmen, but also for the highest authorities in India. After Sir George Clarke, Lord Hardinge, and then Lord Willingdon, honoured Dadabhai with a visit and profited by his exposition of the hopes and aspirations of the people. Such intercourse was not confined to exchange of courtesies or to sharing domestic joys and sorrows of one another. Whenever the economic or the political situation demanded it, Dadabhai carried on a vigorous correspondence with them.

On February 21, 1913, a letter was addressed jointly to Lord Crewe and Lord Hardinge, asking that the Public Services Commission then conducting its inquiry should be supplied with 'information about the aspects and consequences of the economic factor of the public service' so that they might be able to realize 'how much of the moisture

which ought to give sustenance to the people of British India was sucked up by Europeans under the existing system of public service'. In one of his speeches Lord Hardinge had inferred from certain trade statistics that India's material condition and progress compared favourably with that of any other principal country in the world. Dadabhai lost no time in pointing out in a long letter (October 8, 1913) that the interpretation put on the figures was not correct. The subject had been dealt with by him before. India's exports brought no gain to India ; it was all loss, loss, loss.

The outbreak of the Great War elicited a stirring message from Dadabhai (August 10, 1914).

The War in Europe. What is our—India's—place in it?...We are above all British citizens of the Great British Empire.... Fighting as the British people are at present in a righteous cause for the good and glory of human dignity and civilization, and, moreover, being the beneficent instrument of our own progress and civilization, our duty is clear to do our—every one's—best to support the British fight with our life and property.

This message struck the right note at that critical moment in the history of the British Empire. The events that followed form one of the brightest chapters in the history of Indo-British relations. A wave of loyalty spread over the whole country. By handsome contributions of men to the Army and money to the War Fund, and in several other ways, the Princes and the people of India helped the British Empire, to the best of their ability, to wage and win the war.

Dadabhai's next birthday synchronized with one of the most sensational incidents in his life. Mrs Annie Basant, who had then switched off to politics from metaphysics, was trying to form a Home Rule League in India. It was announced in September 1915 that it had been decided to start the League as an auxiliary to the National Congress in India and its British Committee in England. 'Its general aim will be', it was stated, 'to educate the people and to strengthen the demand of the Congress for self-government...the strength of a nation.' Then followed the sensational news that Dadabhai had consented to be President.

In the quiet of Versova, Dadabhai was a moral and spiritual force. Placed as he was on a pinnacle, above all earthly strife and turmoil of politics, or party, none expected that Dadabhai would descend from that pinnacle to the slippery path of active politics. His friends and admirers were, therefore, amazed to read the announcement. Most of the Congressmen considered it outrageous that another organization should be brought into being, to pursue the same object which formed the principal plank in the Congress programme, namely, self-government. They suspected that the extremists would utilize it merely to wreck the Congress.

What about your Presidentship of the Home Rule League (asked Wacha) which Mrs Besant is broadly advertising? ... We do not approve of the methods of Mrs Besant who late in the day has come forward to support the Congress movement.

Not merely Congress colleagues but all the world seemed anxious to know whether Dadabhai had really accepted the presidentship. He therefore announced publicly (September 28) that it was true that he had given his consent to be President on certain conditions.

How did it happen? Mrs Besant wanted not only Dadabhai, but also S. Subrahmania Aiyar and Wedderburn to join the League. To induce Dadabhai to agree to be the head of the movement, Mrs. Besant, with her lieutenant, B. P. Wadia, paid him a personal visit. The veteran champion of Home Rule for Ireland welcomed the idea of forming the Home Rule League. With clear political insight he consented to be its President. One of the conditions he imposed was that he should not be called upon for any active work or for speaking or writing, as he was not competent to undertake any such work at his age. He also asked, and Mrs Besant agreed, that the league must not be turned against the Congress.

Wache wrote that by allowing his name to be associated with the League as its President he was in reality assisting those who by indirect and tortuous means were trying to wreck the Congress. The veteran's rejoinder revealed the

working of his mind. Although often deceived, the erstwhile Professor of Mathematics insisted till the last day of his life that every theory of suspicion should be demonstrated like a theorem in geometry, before he could act on it. In this particular case he saw no reason to discountenance a movement, full of promise for the country's good, merely because his friends suspected that its promoters would work in a manner prejudicial to the congress.

Anxious as Mrs Besant was to launch the League with the goodwill of the Congress, she decided to go slow. This delay saved Dadabhai from a very embarrassing situation. Before the League was duly constituted in 1917, his day of political activity was over.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE END

THE quietest year of Dadabhai's life was 1916 ; even so, it is memorable for a unique event. Rather late in the day, the Bombay University decided to confer on Dadabhai and Pherozeshaw Mehta the honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws. In point of time he belonged to pre-University days, but he was a product of the renaissance which had given birth to the University and had from the beginning a share in the new intellectual life. Dadabhai summed up in his life, said the erudite Vice-chancellor, the Rev. Dr. D. Mackinchan, the history of that great intellectual revival. Into the serene academic atmosphere of the University the heated air of politics should not enter. Nevertheless, a reference to Dadabhai's political career could scarcely have been avoided.

This only I should like to be permitted to say (said the Vice-Chancellor) regarding a career which has been so largely concerned with the problems of the government of India that the honour and success of that career were due in large measure to the high qualities of personal life and character which were so conspicuous in every part of it. Men of all shades of political opinion were quick to discern the transparent honesty, the simplicity of purpose, the unselfish patriotism of the man who sought to interpret to Great Britain the needs and aspirations of his countrymen. British political life is peculiarly sensitive to character. While in this University we do not concern ourselves with politics, we are deeply concerned with character, and today we pay the tribute of our admiration to Mr Dadabhai Naoroji's patience under adversities and disappointments, to his unwearied perseverance in the maintenance of his convictions and to the unselfish love of his country and nation which inspired him throughout his many conflicts.

The time for the realization of Dadabhai's dream of self-government was drawing near. Negotiations were

going on between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Congress workers in the East and in the West and their British friends were busy preparing proposals for constitutional reforms which would satisfy the aspirations of the rising generation of India. An essential principle of self-government had already been indicated by Lord Hardinge, namely, provincial autonomy, with a gradual transfer of authority from officials to the representatives of the people. It was believed that the representatives of a United India on so vital a problem would receive a fair hearing from the British people and the Imperial Parliament.

Dadabhai's earnest wish and prayer was that he might live to witness the inauguration of the reforms which would place India securely on the road to self-government. He was, however, taken suddenly ill two months before the declaration of August 20, 1917, was made, guaranteeing increased association of Indians in every branch of the Administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire, guaranteeing, that is to say, practically all that Dadabhai was demanding.

It was a case of general debility, but it caused grave concern. Dadabhai was removed from his house in Versova to Palitana House, Cumballa Hill, Bombay. Here, on June 30, the greatest of great Indians of the day passed away peacefully, surrounded by all the members of his family, except his two daughters who were in Kashmere.

After his body was consigned to the Tower of Silence, according to Parsi rites, Sir Narayenrao Chandavarkar paid a glowing tribute to his memory :

If we take stock of his life and his example, may I not say with perfect justice and truth that in his career, in all he did, in all he suffered, and in all he taught, he was the Prophet Zoroaster's religion personified, because he was the man more than anybody else of pure thought, of pure speech and of pure deeds . . . The sun that rose, just ninety-three years ago, over India is set, but, I say, it is set to rise again in the form of regenerated India.

Many a tribute poured in from the four corners of the Globe, many a public meeting was held, many a monument was raised and is still being raised to his memory, but what monument could be greater than the rejuvenated India he left behind?

Calcutta: 27.



Rs. Ps.

Prof. M. Hiriyanna —

Popular Essays in Indian Philosophy	7—50
The Quest After Perfection	7—50
Art Experience	7—50
Sanskrit Studies	5—00
Indian Philosophical Studies I	7—50
Indian Philosophical Studies II	<i>In the press</i>
The Mission of Philosophy	7—50
Reviews	<i>In the press</i>

Syed Hafizuddin—

So I became a Teacher	4—00
-----------------------	------

R. P. Masani—

Dadabhai Naoroji (Abbr. Ed.)	5—50
------------------------------	------

Dr. K. Krishna Moorthy—

The Dhvanyaloka and its critics	30—00
---------------------------------	-------

S. K. Ramachandra Rao—

Saṃkara : A Psychological Study	5—00
The Idea of Sarvodaya	0—75

C. V. Srinivasa Murty—

Elements of Social Science	2—50
Elements of Logic & Scientific Method	<i>In the press</i>

Syed Amanuddin—

Hart Crane's Mystical Quest and other Essays	8—00
The Forbidden Fruit : Love Poems	4—00

KAVYALAYA : : PUBLISHERS : : MYSORE-4

Kavya Alaya
Mysore-4